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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

BY MARY GREW.

During another year we have watched the fierce struggle between the opposing principles of Liberty and Despotism, which has convulsed the Nation and threatened its life. During another year we have held on our way, taking our part in that contest, the result of which is to determine the weal or woe of this Republic. The fourth decade of our Society's existence is half completed; and we are still looking forward, with hope and faith, to the hour when those for whom we have so long labored shall be securely invested with the rights of men, and our work be accomplished. As we glance backward through those thirty-five years, and then look over our field to-day, we find no language vivid enough to describe the glorious victories of our cause; or to express our gratitude and joy over the marvellous deliverance which our God has wrought for an oppressed people.

In one of the proudest of those States* where, a few years ago, a colored skin marked a man as a *chattel*, we have recently seen one colored man inaugurated Lieut. Governor of the State, and another elected a Representative in Congress; in another of those States,† we have heard a political party, assembled in Convention, declare that they will never "recognize any distinction of race or color," in "education, the ballot, or other civil or political right." In the city of Washington we have seen a National Convention of colored men assemble, from the North and South and East and West, and, day after day, discuss political questions, while the press of the country, Republican and Democratic, reported their proceedings in respectful language. For the first time in our Nation's history, the colored men of the South have been legally recognized as voters in a Presidential election. Louisiana, through her Legislature, prohibits "any distinction in the treatment of persons, on account of color, on the public conveyances, places of entertainment or of public resort, within her commonwealth. Massachusetts puts a colored man, once a Virginia slave, into the jury box of her Superior Court. Maine and Missouri utter their rebuke of the treachery which refused to convict Andrew Johnson, by sending Hannibal Hamlin and Carl Schurz to the United States Senate. Minnesota and Iowa have abolished all political distinctions on account of race or color, in those States. In the District of Columbia, in our Territories, and in nineteen States, colored men are, legally, in possession of the ballot,—the American citizen's seal of freedom.

The triumph of the Republican party in the October and November elections was hailed by every liberty-loving soul as a triumph for Humanity. On one side of this fierce contest was arrayed the despotism of the country, North and South; its unchristian hatred of the colored man; its vulgar prejudice of race; its contempt for the rights of the poor and the oppressed. The enraged and defeated rebels of the South (not the less rebels because defeated), joined hands with the leaders of the Democratic party in the North, and gave them their heartiest sympathy and such help as they had to give. The men whose ideal corner-stone of a Nation was the right of slaveholding; the men whom the moral atmosphere of slavery had so corrupted and debased that Andersonville and Libby became possibilities in the nineteenth century, in a land called civilized, rushed to that party's platform as to an ark of safety.

On the other side were gathered the friends of universal freedom and equal rights, who see, in every human being, not nationality but Manhood; and those who, though not having attained to this idea of human brotherhood, have learned to abhor the wickedness of chattel slavery; and those who, though not having even learned this lesson in morals, have seen their country's life endangered by the monstrous system, and have resolved that every trace of it shall be eradicated from the land forever. On which side of this conflict were enlisted the prayers of the oppressed colored people and the loyal white men of the South, on which side rested the hopes of all true souls and the benediction of God, who can doubt? It was a hard-fought battle, and when the result seemed doubtful, every friend of freedom trembled; but when, in an agony of fear, at the eleventh hour, a cry arose in the Democratic camp, "Let us change the names on our banner that we may save our principles!" a shout of joy from the opposing host rang through the land; for they knew that the day was won.

If these events, which we record with grateful joy, constituted a fair representation of our review of the year, and of the present situation of our cause, we might congratulate one another upon the consummation of our work, close the records of our society and depart to other fields of labor. But the most cursory examination shows us that the hour of the slave's *complete* enfranchisement has not yet come. The glorious triumphs won are, we doubt not, heralds of the final triumph; but they are not to be mistaken for it. All that has been gained is yet to be made secure, and to that work abolitionists are pledged.

Slavery is dead in law. Dead by the Constitution of the United States. Congress has declared the colored man a citizen of the United States, and included him in its bill of Civil Rights. All this, and all that we have recorded during the last few years of victories won, have been extorted, one by one, from the Government, since that hour of peril when the Nation gave its reluctant consent that her colored sons should fight the battles which saved her life. Each concession to the right which she has made, each deed of justice done, has educated the people upward, and made the next step in the same direction easier; but in no hour of the Nation's distress or rejoicing has she fully repented of her sins against the race whom she enslaved, nor been truly converted to the love of righteousness. At each step, since the first burst of loyal indignation against the rebellion of the South, when righteous displeasure against the slaveholders created a brief sympathy with the race to which their victims belonged, has the Nation hesitated and faltered, and asked what degree of justice towards the colored man would be absolutely necessary for its own safety. Political parties ever keep a sensitive finger on the Nation's pulse; and the Republican party, when, at the Chicago Convention, last May, it declared Negro suffrage in the South, a doctrine of its platform, thought it necessary to announce through, at least, one of its radical organs, that this measure was absolutely necessary for the safety of Union men, white and colored, in the rebel States.

In the Southern States the spirit of slavery still lives and rages. Most appalling and heart-rending testimony to this fact is constantly published in Northern and Southern journals. Assassinations of loyal men, white and colored, by night and day, have been so frequent in the South during the past year that Committees appointed to investigate them, officially report that it is impossible to number them with any approach to accuracy. The *New Orleans Republican*, *The Nashville Republic*, *The Frankfort* (Ky.) *Commonwealth* and many other Southern journals, narrate the cruelties perpetrated on the helpless negroes, in defiance of law, and sustained by public sentiment, stronger than law. We read of preachers shot in the pulpit, or followed to their homes and brutally murdered; of innocent men dragged from their beds at midnight and tortured to death; of women driven from the school-houses where they were quietly teaching little children to read, and allowed only the alternative of scourging or flight; of homes destroyed by fire while the occupants were thankful if they escaped the assassin's knife; of tragedies so terrible that we sicken at the narration, and ask if the arm of our Government is palsied.

The Special Committee appointed by the Texas Constitutional Convention to inquire into and report upon the alleged prevalence of lawlessness and violence in that State, report that they found great difficulty in obtaining testimony, partly from the unwillingness of gentlemen to testify, and partly from their fear of assassination if they should do so. Therefore, they say that they are confident that their report presents a very imperfect view of the actual violence and disorder in that State. They obtained proof of nine hundred and thirty-nine homicides in the State, during the period between June, 1865, and June, 1868. The Committee say: "In our statistics we have not embraced assaults with intent to kill, rapes, robberies, whipping of freedmen, and other outrages many of which are found to be most cruel and wanton; such a summary would impose an almost endless task."

Gov. Warmouth, of Louisiana, reports one hundred and fifty murders in the county parishes of that State, in the period of six weeks; and among these murderers were recognized ex-justices of the peace and constables. Union men, appealing for help, declared that without protection it would be impossible for them to remain in the county parishes of the State.

Gen. Sibley, in his official report of the massacre at Camilla, Georgia, in September last, says that no action whatever had been taken by the civil authorities towards bringing the guilty parties to punishment. Gov. Bullock, of that State, in his recent message says: "The fact that there is not in Georgia adequate protection for life and property, and the free expression of political opinion, is so well-known and understood as not to need argument, or the presentation of evidence which has reached me from many portions of the State."

The recent action of the Legislature of Georgia, in expelling, by the vote of a large majority, the twenty-nine colored members of that body, and the ineffectual protest of Gov. Bullock against this high-handed defiance of the Reconstruction laws, furnish startling evidence that the spirit of slavery lives and reigns in Georgia. The brutal murder, publicly and in open day, of the Hon. B. F. Randolph, member of the South Carolina Senate, bears similar testimony for that State. And from Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and other States, we hear the same terrible reports of cruel outrages on innocent victims, and bold defiance of State and National law. In the U. S. Senate, last December, Hon. George S. Julian stated that hundreds of persons are still held in slavery in Kentucky. Even in Maryland we have the testimony of Judge Bond that "the negro is not looked upon as a man with human capacities or rights."

With such a moral atmosphere pervading the South, the question naturally arises, "How can the colored man maintain his personal freedom, or use the ballot, which is legally his?" Southern newspapers, inspired by the very soul of Slavery and the Rebellion, answer this question. They tell us that it is and shall be through fire and blood that the freedman shall walk to the polls; that if he dare to exercise a freeman's right to vote according to his own choice, he shall do so at the peril of starvation for himself and his family, unless speedier vengeance overtakes him. Where the opening of a Registration office is a signal for an assault of rebels upon their loyal neighbors, and for the murder of Registrars; where armed ruffians take possession of the polls, applauded by the popular press, it seems bitter mockery to tell the colored man that he is invested with the right of suffrage. The same cruel threats addressed to the negro; the same contempt for human rights which filled the Southern press a year ago, breathes through it still. *The Richmond Enquirer* again proclaims that if the negroes will refuse to vote for their old masters, they shall be driven from employment. The *Meridian* (Miss.) *Mercury* says:

"With the skull and cross-bones of the 'lost cause' before us, we will swear that this is a white man's government. *We must make the negro understand we are the men we were when we held him in abject bondage;* and make him feel that when forbearance ceases to be a virtue, he has aroused a power that will control him or destroy him."

Even the *Republican Banner*, published at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, claiming to be an organ of the Republican party there, says:

"Let it be distinctly borne in mind that the *Republican Banner* will strenuously oppose the rights of negroes voting in any election in this State. Believing as we do, that this class of *citizens* are not capable of exercising the right of voters, we shall hereafter advocate the repeal of that portion of the Constitution which gives this class the right to vote, and urge its adoption at the next meeting of the Legislature."

"We are for white men doing the voting and holding office, and none others; and if the white men cannot rule the country upon Republican principles without the aid of negro votes, let the country go, and give it up to the disunionists and those who sympathise with them."

While the spirit of slavery thus incarnates itself, and utters its voice in the South, Andrew Johnson occupies the Presidential chair in Washington, and, defying law and public sentiment, aids with sympathetic heart and liberal hand the enemies of liberty.

Yet, with all these forces arrayed against the freedmen, we account it a grand triumph that he has won the legal right to hold the ballot; and when we see him, with the zeal of a benefactor of his race, with a hero's courage and a martyr's constancy, confronting peril and death to exercise a freeman's right, we are re-assured that the day of his full deliverance draws nigh.

We are frequently asked, what more we demand of the government, on behalf of the colored race of the South. Declared free by Executive Proclamation and Federal Constitution; endowed by Congress with the ballot; made eligible to State and National offices, and elected to fill them; what more could the most vigilant and exacting abolitionist require? *Our reply is that we demand the Nation's bond of security for all this.* By the heavy price of its purchase—the blood of a hundred battle-fields, the anguish of bereavement silently endured in thousands of homes, and the heritage of taxation of the bread of a generation yet to come; by the accumulated wrongs of two centuries crying aloud for atonement; by the untold value of all that has been won for the colored man of the South, and by the fearful perils which confront him to-day; we demand the strongest pledge of his safety; the surest protection of his rights which the government can give, *viz.*, a provision of our Federal Constitution which shall make the colored man politically equal with the white man, throughout the Nation. Without this he holds his new-born citizenship, even his personal freedom, by a precarious tenure. The enactments of one Legislature may be repealed by its successor, or rendered nugatory by courts. The decrees of Congress relative to the Constitutions of Reconstructed States, may be modified or rescinded by the opposite party when it comes into power, or at the pleasure of the party which enacted them. But when the colored man's right of suffrage shall be protected by the United States Constitution, he cannot be deprived of it without the consenting voice of three-fourths of the States of the Union. The fierce hatred towards him which prevails in the South; the determination plainly manifested by his late masters to reduce him to a new form of slavery without its name, shows how little he can rely for protection on the governments of the Reconstructed States. It may be said that a strong party, friendly to freedom, is in possession of the Federal Government; that it has secured for its candidate the presidential office, and that, in its keeping, the rights of all men will be safe.

To this confident assertion we reply, first, that the party now in power may, in a few years, be succeeded by its lately defeated opponent. It is an alarming fact that the loyalty of the nation, aided by the military prestige of its candidate, secured for the Republican party a majority of only 300,000 among four million votes. When we consider the character of the party which to-day boasts so strong a minority, we cannot fail to see in it a formidable foe to the cause of freedom. Its platform, adopted at its last National Convention, declared the Reconstruction Acts of Congress to be "unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." Raising the senseless cry of "negro supremacy," to frighten the ignorant portion of its constituency, its organs plainly declare that in the event of its success it "will undo all that the traitorous and usurping Radical Congress has done in the matter of the Southern States." They have united in the cry that "this was intended to be, and must always remain, a white man's government." During the Presidential campaign, this party was the relentless persecutor of the colored man; in the South driving him from the polls when it could not command his vote, and in the North raising the cry of "*No negroes in the Public Schools.*" So insensible to justice or honor has it become, that it was not ashamed to inscribe this anti-democratic, anti-christian, demand upon the banners which it paraded through the streets of Philadelphia on the day preceding the October elections. That such a party has received the endorsement of Wade Hampton, of Toombs and Semmes, and other prominent rebels, is no cause of surprise. We respect the sagacity of Wade Hampton when he declares, as he did in a public meeting in Charleston last August that he "wanted nothing else" of the party, after they had pronounced "the Reconstruction Acts of Congress unconstitutional, revolutionary and void." That, he says, was his "plank on the platform;" and he expresses his willingness "to wait in patience until that party should be triumphant, and apply the remedy in their own good time."

It is easy to foretell what would be the fate of the colored man, should the Democratic party obtain possession of the Government before his rights are secured by the Federal Constitution.

Our second reply is, that the Republican party has not proved itself worthy to be trusted with the keeping of those rights; and that in their hands he is not safe without this Constitutional protection. It did not dare to vitalize its platform with an Article asserting the equal political rights of all men, without distinction of color; and, as a very natural consequence of this timidity, sections of the party in different States have been guilty of the gross injustice of opposing the negro's efforts to obtain his rights as a citizen. Of that platform, Judge Bond said that he feared that it would hinder rather than help the cause of freedom in Maryland, and Thaddeus Stevens wrote, "It is like most of the Republican platforms for the past six years, lame and cowardly." The Richmond *Whig* exults over it thus: "The latest platform of the very party under whose auspices reconstruction is being carried on, recognizes the States now in their practical relations with the Government, as having the exclusive control over suffrage within their borders. Whenever Congress admits the Southern States into the Union, their rights will, even in Radical contemplation, be the same. The Chicago platform will cover them as it now covers the others; and they can call Conventions and regulate suffrage to suit themselves. They will do it; and thus the same questions which the Radicals pretend to wish to settle, and which they have declared reconstruction should settle, will remain open. So their pretended reconstruction is no finality, no settlement, no pacification." One of the principal Republican organs said, apologetically, that the article relating to suffrage was accepted by the Chicago Convention, because they thought it best "to defer to the desires" of some members of the party, "and to win the elections with General Grant; and after that advocate a new Amendment of the Constitution, preventing the States from any unjust restrictions upon suffrage." A result of this miserable compromise with injustice appeared in November when the Republican State ticket in Missouri was elected by about fifteen thousand majority, and negro suffrage was defeated by fifteen or eighteen thousand; and the strongest Republican districts of St. Louis gave the largest majorities against it. In January the Kansas Legislature followed the example, and indefinitely postponed a resolution allowing negroes to vote.

The same spirit of compromise between justice and what politicians call availability, which constructed the platform of the party, also nominated its candidate for the Presidency. Gen. Grant was chosen to represent the party, when scarcely a man in the whole nation knew whether he held its principles or not; when many of its leaders really believed that he would accept a nomination from either party. His future course, whatever it may be, can never relieve them from the responsibility, which they then assumed, of hazarding the cause of freedom for the sake of their party's success.

It is a significant fact that in that grand procession of the Nation's soldiers and sailors, which Philadelphia saw and hailed with grateful heart last Autumn, the colored veterans of the war were not represented. What did it indicate? That the tenth Article of the Republican platform means that "of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the [white] brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of their country?" Or did it indicate that a powerful and really grateful party was afraid openly to honor the colored hero, lest by so doing they should endanger the election in Pennsylvania?

An examination of the records of Congress during the past year, shows the same struggle between the Conservative and Radical elements of the Republican party that was witnessed in its convention. With the knowledge that assassination of loyal men was unchecked in the South, with the cries of the persecuted freedmen in their ears, and their prayers for succor presented to the Senate and House, Congress was in session many months, during the past year, before either House could be induced to take efficient measures for their protection. With the Legislature of Georgia defying the Reconstruction laws, and expelling their regularly elected colored members, a Republican Congress assembled in September, merely to adjourn, and saw no reason for holding a session in October or November. The action of the House of Representatives in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson was hailed with joy by all the friends of freedom; and the action of the Senate in refusing to convict him, not only awakened their indignation against the SEVEN whose treachery won for them a notoriety of infamy; but it aroused serious alarm in loyal hearts, and mightily encouraged Southern rebels and their Northern allies.

The passage in the House of the bill to repeal the Tenure of Office Act, excited distrust of the wisdom or the integrity of the ruling party there. This bill is pending in the Senate, where, also, a bill has been introduced and referred to the Judiciary Committee, which provides that military government shall be revived in Georgia; and that the act of the Legislature of that State, expelling its colored members, shall be null and void,

On the Thirtieth of January, 1869, a deed was done for freedom which made the day an epoch in our country's history. The House of Representatives crowned itself with honor, and made glad the hearts of the lovers of liberty, by the passage of the following Resolution:

Be it Resolved, That the following Article be proposed to the Legislature of the several States, as an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be held as part of said Constitution, viz:

Article 1—Section 1. The right of any citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State, by reason of race, color, or previous condition of slavery, of any citizen or class of citizens of the United States.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this Article.

This Resolution received the affirmative vote of more than two-thirds of the members; yeas 150; nays 42. On the Ninth day of February the Senate proved itself equally faithful to the cause of liberty by adopting, by a vote of 40 yeas against 16 nays, the following Resolution, which adds to the Amendment proposed by the House, the right to hold office, and the prohibition of tests of citizenship, based on nativity, property, education or creed. In this modification of its own Resolution the House will undoubtedly concur:

Be it Resolved, etc., Two-thirds of both Houses concurring—That the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, either of which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be held as a part of said Constitution, viz:

ART. 15. No discrimination shall be made in the United States, among the citizens of the United States, in the exercise of the elective franchise, or in the right to hold office in any State, on account of race, color, nativity, property, education or creed.

ART. 16. The second clause, first section, second Article of the Constitution of the United States, shall be amended to read as follows: Each State shall appoint, by a vote of the people thereof, qualified to vote for Representatives in Congress, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, shall be appointed an elector, and the Congress shall have power to prescribe the manner in which such electors shall be chosen by the people.*

For this chief work of the session, this first step towards the affixing of the Nation's seal upon the slave's charter of freedom, we have looked with anxious hope and earnest prayer; working for its accomplishment by all the means in our power: and we welcome it with unutterable gratitude to Him who has led us, step by step, from the beginning of our enterprise, to this hour of our last struggle for complete victory.

In reviewing the course of Congress during the year, we gladly bear witness to the fidelity and zeal with which some of its members have served the cause of freedom. The name of CHARLES SUMNER has been so long linked with such service in the Senate, that it is scarcely necessary to say that, from the opening hours of each session to its close he is vigilant and prompt in the use of every opportunity to present and advocate the claims of the colored man to all the rights of a freeman and citizen. And there are other members of the Senate and House, who deserve honorable notice on the pages of Anti-Slavery Reports, and grateful remembrance in the hearts of their countrymen. On the first day of the present session, William D. Kelley and John M. Broomall of our own State, George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, and several representatives from other States, initiated the great work of the session, by presenting Bills and Resolutions designed to secure suffrage to all men without distinction of color. The records of Congress show their faithful championship of this measure; nor theirs alone. George W. Julian, Samuel Shellabarger, James M. Ashley, and others in the House and Senate, having done good service in the cause of freedom.

Every consideration of justice to the colored man, and of national safety and prosperity, urge the ratification of this Amendment, which Mr. Boutwell justly calls "the last of the great measures of reconstruction." To stop short of this would be to leave that work unfinished and to jeopard the safety of all that has been won. The adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, while it declares the black man a citizen of the United States, left his citizen's right of suffrage in the hands of the white man, to be given or withheld as the latter might choose. It was a violation of the fundamental principles of our government, and an insult to the colored man, intensified by the memory of his record during the deadly struggle for the Nation's life. Steadily, step by step, our National Legislature has reached that plane of justice upon which it sees and acknowledges the colored man's rights to full citizenship, and is ready to endow him with the strongest governmental protection of an American citizen. If by the treachery of the people this deed should fail of accomplishment, or be delayed until the compromiser's "more convenient season," it will be a stain upon our Nation's history forever. It will be another wound wantonly inflicted on that suffering race whose tears and blood have cried unto God against us through many generations. It will be another proof, added to the many which America has furnished to the world, that she is practically infidel to the fundamental principles of her own Declaration of Independence. But we look not for defeat, but victory, in this final struggle of our cause. We are not unmindful of the danger which threatens us, in the venomous activity of the Democratic party, in the apathy, or worse than apathy of a portion of the Republican party and of the church. We know that another battle is to be fought, but we see around us most cheering indications of success. The voice of the Republican press has a truer and clearer tone than ever before. Its most influential journals are demanding the ratification of this Amendment, and are urging the party to work for this end with all its strength.

During many years it was the duty of Anti-Slavery Societies to rebuke the pro-slavery character of the Northern press generally. It is a far pleasanter duty which we perform to-day, in paying our tribute to the fidelity with which a large portion of it is serving the cause of freedom. It is impossible for us to record here the names of all the daily and weekly journals whose faithfulness we would gladly acknowledge, but it will not be invidious to mention, among the daily papers of our own city, *The Morning Post*, ever true to the principles of equal rights, quick to sympathize with oppressed humanity, and brave and faithful in criticising the errors and rebuking the faults of its own party; *The Press*, able and earnest in its advocacy of the doctrine of the pending Constitutional Amendment; also, *The Evening Bulletin* and *The Evening Telegraph*, who have given the measure their editorial support.

Another cheering indication is the fact that the leaders of the Republican party are becoming aware that the establishment of negro suffrage throughout the country will be necessary to its success in the next Presidential election. This strengthens our hope of the ratification of the pending Amendment, and also of the passage of Mr. Sumner's Bill, which proposes to secure the same result by Congressional enactment.

If any evidence were needed, on the part of the colored people of the country, to show that they are not behind the masses of their white brethren in their fitness to use the ballot, their conduct during the last eight years has furnished it. Their readiness to bear their share of the burdens of the war, their patient waiting for justice at the hands of Government, their manly and dignified protest against the outrage of which the Georgia Legislature was guilty, the high moral and intellectual tone of their political Conventions, eloquently plead their cause with the Nation, and will testify to the Nation's sin, if that plea shall be disregarded.

This cursory review of the year, and of the present situation of our cause, brings us to the consideration of the work before us. The weapons with which we began this moral warfare, we have never changed. Our foe has met us on various fields and in various disguises, and our mode of attack and defence have varied with the demands of the hour; but our weapon has always been the application of truth to the human conscience and heart. In the dissemination of the fundamental truth of the Reform which we sought to accomplish, this Society has mingled its labors with the American and Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Societies. During the last year its efforts have been principally devoted to the support and circulation of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. To this object the proceeds of the Festival of the Friends of Freedom, recently held by our own and the State Society, were appropriated. This journal, the only one in the country especially devoted to the advocacy of the colored man's claim to all the rights of citizenship, is not only doing a mighty work in the cause of his freedom, but is performing the office of an educator of the Nation, enlightening its conscience and quickening its moral sense. Far beyond the circle of its own readers its influence is carried by other journals, both daily and weekly, which re-publish for their readers, its powerful editorials. Among all classes of the people, from the unlettered freedman of the South, to the Statesman of the Senate, we hear the most cordial testimony to the value and the influence of this organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

We have continued to memorialize Congress and our State Legislature in behalf of the complete enfranchisement of the colored man, and to testify, as we have had opportunity, against the unchristian spirit of *caste*, which the church denounces as "heathen," in Hindostan, but has baptized with the name of "an ordination of Providence," in America.

The work which remains for us to do, is to press upon the conscience of the Nation the truth which the present hour demands. It is ours to guard with unslackened vigilance every right of the freedmen. The secret of the success of Abolitionists has been that they have never compromised a principle for the sake of success. We still demand absolute justice, as far as governments can confer it, for our clients.

The work immediately before us is to do our part in creating a public sentiment which shall compel the Legislatures of at least three-fourths of the States to ratify a Constitutional Amendment securing the colored man in all a citizen's rights. To this end we may well toil with the fervor and courage of the heart of youth, and the calm faith, born of long and rich experience, which never doubts the final result.

At the close of each year we recall the names of some of our fellow-laborers who have finished their earthly work and passed onward to the duties of a higher life. Two members of this Association, who were with us a year ago, are among this number. One* who has for many years labored with us, and one† who has borne a most faithful testimony against slavery, during a long life, and who, recently, had recorded her name in membership here. The year has been marked by the Nation's bereavement of a true son and faithful servant, whose latest breath was spent in pleading the cause of the oppressed, and in teaching a People lessons of true statesmanship. The colored man of the South, struggling to maintain his right of citizenship; the mother, lately a slave, bending with unutterable rapture over the face of her free-born child; the youths and maidens assembled around that long-desired, and, to them, long forbidden tree of knowledge, have reason to remember with benediction the name of THADDEUS STEVENS.

The path before us is brightly illumined with promise of the speedy consummation of our enterprise. We go forth upon it, inspired and strengthened by gratitude and joy for victories won; by hope that the year which we commence to-day will be the last year of our work, and by a solemn purpose that, with the help of Him who has been our pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, we will walk steadfastly unto the end.

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, in account with ANNIE SHOEMAKER, *Treasurer.*

	DR.		
2d mo. 1868.	To rent of room for Annual Meeting,		$ 2 00
	" rent of room for Stated Meetings,		9 00
	" subscriptions to N. A. S. Standard 50 copies,		150 00
	" printing Annual Report,		53 66
	" postage,		5 72
	" advertising,		4 70
	" donation to A. S. Standard,		100 00
2d mo. 11, '69.	" balance in Treasury,		230 98
			$556 06
	CR.		
2d mo. 1868.	By balance in Treasury,		$318 06
	" members' subscriptions,		88 00
	" festival,		150 00
			$556 06

LYDIA GILLINGHAM, *Auditor.*

OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

PRESIDENT.—Lucretia Mott.
VICE-PRESIDENT.—Sidney Ann Lewis.
RECORDING SECRETARY.—Gulielma Jones.
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.—Mary Grew.
TREASURER.—Annie Shoemaker.
BOARD OF MANAGERS.—Lucretia Mott, Anna M. Hopper, Rebecca S. Hart, Hannah L. Stickney, Sarah H. Peirce, Rosanna Thompson.

*Anna M. Gillingham.
†Hannah W. Steel.

LANDS FOR THE FREEDMEN.

ACCOTINK, FAIRFAX COUNTY, Va., 3d mo., 4th, 1869.

To the Editor of the Standard:

My short note in No. 41 of THE STANDARD, drew from J. E. Snodgrass, in No. 42, a very sympathetic reply for which I am very thankful. I have put at the head of this note my P. O. address. I also notice that Caroline F. Putnam in the same number speaks of the same matter. There seems to be a spirit *moving the waters* just at this time, and I hope it will have its effect and that for *good*.

I have frequently been asked the question: "What can we do to benefit the Freedmen the most effectually?" My answer always has been, at least since I have become acquainted with their wants: Give them *Independence*. I do not mean an "independent fortune," I simply mean, inspire them with a new idea—something that will give them a little self reliance. That will make them look into the future with a little *hope* and not *despair*. Thousands of men found themselves made into men, out of chattels, with a family of on an average of a half dozen children to support and, probably, an aged parent or two also. Is the *superior* race had sympathized with them and offered them the hand of kindness it would have been very different from what it now is. Men and women frequently ask for work, anxious to do something to earn a few old clothes or a crust of bread. But work cannot be found for so many at prices that will insure a competence nor anything like it—merely enough to keep soul and body together. These, people are with large families and no spot of ground to call their own; no place to lay their weary limbs, nor downy pillow on which to rest an aching head. They are now a considerable number of them taking leases on the land that has grown up with pines and cedars; having the use of it for two years for clearing. As soon as it is got into good cultivation their time is out, and then they have to give a share of the crop. And then some get good chances among true Union people.

'Tis wonderful, in view of all the discouragements, with what patience and perseverance they plod on, hoping against hope for the future. One man that was a slave has bought six acres of land of me and paid $250 in one year on it, being near the city of Alexandria, the cost is $50 per acre; and they are anxious to get land for $60 within four or five miles of the same city, rather than have it for $20 eight or ten miles further back in the country.

Dr. Snodgrass proposes "Joint Stock Companies" which would be very well; but a little too cumbersome probably. Two or three men with a thousand dollars or so a piece to invest, with a truly benevolent purpose would work to a good advantage; for as soon as the most enterprising men began to get homes of their own, a new era of feeling would dawn. It would soon be to every farmer's interest to have at least one family of laboring people located near to help in time of need, for it is a truth that as soon a thing of the kind is proved feasable men vie with each other in doing what they once repudiated as wrong and foolish.

I believe firmly that the people of this nation will not have done their duty to these people until something is done to help them to homes.

A very zealous friend of the freedmen traveled through some parts of Virginia, pleading for many to give them homes, and he accidentally met with me and narrated his plan, which was to raise money from the State and from the United States and from individuals, to buy the uncultivated lands

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*Louisiana.
†Mississippi.

*Since this Report was presented, the House has refused to concur in this modified resolution; the Senate has receded from its amendments, and both Houses have adopted, by more than two-thirds majority, the following:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

This amendment will now go to the State Legislatures for ratification.

of the South and divide them up into lots and give them to the freedmen. But my remark was then, and is now, it would be far better to sell them land at a moderate price on a reasonable time than to give it to them.

No money need be wasted; no capital sunk, for no cost need be incurred, in locating and selling any amount of land, only the necessary expense of surveying and title-making, and that would be added, to price of said land.

In conclusion I would say to Dr. Snodgrass that he was correct in supposing I was educated in the Society of Friends, and that my sympathies have always been with the "poor slave." And further, that when our prayers and efforts for thirty years were crowded with success, and slavery no more disgraced our beloved country, I became conscious that there was a need; that these freed people needed education, needed friendly voices and friendly hands, to go among them and help to "reconstruct" them, and hence it is that I am in Virginia.

I had always in my whole life resided in the West, where the soil was rich and everything grew luxuriantly and with little trouble. But I left that beautiful country and have identified myself with the poor of this land, and I find a greater work than I am able to do. Poverty starcs us in the face on every side. Every day, yea, every hour in the day, it may be seen, if we will but open our eyes, and we are powerless to save. And I feel confident if the great Anti-Slavery host of the North could see as we have seen, and hear as we have heard, the piteous pleading, the sorrowful and hopeless, both asking for a *chance* to become useful in the world, there yet might dawn a better day for these people. But we are not *unthankful* but hopeful for we indeed feel that the Father of all has blessed us in a particular manner in causing the bonds of the slave to be broken; and in him will we yet trust.

But we feel that there is too great a difference. Wealth and poverty side by side. Never shall I forget a scene at the capital of the greatest nation under the sun, as I emerged from under the great dome and came out into the pure air, after having surveyed the extravagant display of wealth in that massive building. A group of ragpickers met our gaze, near us. Two Philadelphia ladies turned toward them and enquired into their condition—but turned away with a silent tear. *No hope, no help* for them. We behold the drowning man, but cannot interpose a single straw, as it were, in his behalf. We might strip ourselves of our clothes, part with all our *substance* to them, and yet it would be hardly a drop in the bucket.

The only hope that I can see is to apply the remedy in the right place, and, just as fast as we can, help them to homes; and the more people interest themselves the faster will the work goes on.

With great respect, J. M. Wood.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1869.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

The following States have ratified the Amendment:

KANSAS,	LOUISIANA,
MISSOURI,	NEVADA,
WEST VIRGINIA,	ILLINOIS,
WISCONSIN,	MICHIGAN
MAINE,	SOUTH CAROLINA,

ARKANSAS.

The Amendment has been rejected by

DELAWARE.

We do not count Georgia as at present a State, competent to either ratify or reject the Amendment.

OBSTACLES.

The Constitutional Amendment must be ratified. The question it settles must be taken out of our politics; its subsidiary ones may then be left to the slow but sure influence of the social and industrial forces of the age. There are perplexing and angry issues enough ahead to engage all the attention of this and the next generation. The woman question, the Labor movement, the Indian question, the Chinese, the peril to free institutions from incorporated wealth, all these press on us and their urgent importance dictate that the Negro's claim shall be settled by being acknowledged and his rights guaranteed. We stand in a far more critical emergency that England did in 1829, when the House of Lords flung out the Reform Bill and Earl Grey brought William IV. to consent to swamp the House of Lords by new creations, if it continued to set at defiance the people's will. Like dangers dictate like measures. We must, if necessary, swamp Delaware and Indiana by the creation of new States. There is Georgia, vaporing, in old Southern style, in insolent defiance of the Nation's will. She is not a State, having not been yet reconstructed or readmitted. She could easily be divided into two good sized States and admitted when she sees her way to the adoption of the 15th Amendment.

Then Texas is a still better resource. Texas was stolen from Mexico and smuggled into the Union, with the right to be divided into three or four States. We—the abolitionists—protested, resisted, vigorously. The South overruled our protest and carried her swindle in spite of us. We propose now that the "Engineer shall hoist with his own petard." "The lesson you teach us we will execute, and it shall go hard but we will better the instruction." If the Northern Democrat continues rebellious, carve Texas into four States. The Amendment must *not* fail. "*Impossible*," said Napoleon, is not in the French dictionary. We propose to count it out of ours on the present occasion.

The Times are critical. We have been at war, not on a picnic, as Seward dreamed. The land is full of graves. Labor is mortgaged for one or two generations. What we fought for we intend to have, the *whole of it*. We will not talk of conquest and, with delicate regard for the feelings of the conquered, we will hide the battle flags. But the substantial fruits of victory we must have. This race-quarrel must no more vex our politics.

National safety demands it. Andrew Johnson and Beecher-Greeley magnanimity have wrought fearful work. The great lights of Right and Wrong grow dim. With the idol General for one Presidential candidate and the Ku-Klux mobocrat for the other, Loyality only had 300,000 majority out of 5,700,000 votes; not six per cent. 28,000 votes changed, in needed localities, would have made Seymour President. It is no time to be magnanimous *at other's expense*. It is very easy for one man to be magnanimous in New York or to acquit felons in a Senate chamber, provided it is another man who has got to be shot in consequence on the banks of the Del Norte. This is no time for maudlin sentiment. It is a time for drawn swords, and for going to the extreme verge of our Constitutional power to secure peace and guarantee justice in all coming time. We say therefore to Congress, carve out of rebel territory, like Texas and Georgia, enough States to ratify the Amendment, if events shall show it to be necessary.

——We have one word to add relative to Georgia. To be a rebel and an obstructive at the public expense is pleasant enough. To play rebel pranks at one's own cost is not so amusing. These Georgia Legislators, who have been trampling on law and defying the Nation, should never be paid one cent out of any Treasury. If it can be done an injunction should be put on the State Treasury, if there be one. The President should take possession of the funds of the State, and see that no disqualified member of that sham Georgia government ever gets one dollar. This is an important and most effective check on these insolent beggars, and will go far to prevent such freaks in time to come.

We have a certain respect for the original Southerners—but these bastard go-betweens, like this Georgia Legislature merit only contempt.

Wendell Phillips.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

The New York Times of Tuesday last says:

The Newsboys' Lodging-house in Poplar street, Brooklyn, was established several years since for the accommodation of newsboys and others who had no homes; and among those who are provided for are several colored youths. Heretofore there has been no difficulty on account of color, but lately the white boys have a rebellious disposition. Yesterday morning the Superintendent, Mr. James L. Kirkby, received a letter from some of the elder lodgers, in which they demanded the expulsion of the colored boys, and threatened violence if their wishes were not complied with. The Superintendent applied to police Inspector Folk for protection, and Captain Jacobs, of the Forty-second Precinct, was instructed to see that order was maintained last evening. Several officers were sent to the Home, and their presence had the effect of keeping those who threatened disturbance quiet. The colored boys were permitted to remain notwithstanding the threats made by the others."

There is undoubtedly a gradual decrease among the whites of the provincial and peculiarly American prejudice against colored people in this country. That it still prevails extensively and is very strong, is indicated by the trouble in the Newsboys' Lodging-house above mentioned. The unruly action of those boys is but in imitation of the exclusive custom of nearly all first class hotels, and most popular churches. It is but a short time, we understand, since a very respectable colored merchant from Canada came to this city to buy goods, bringing with him letters of introduction to well-known citizens here. This colored merchant, whose money we doubt not was readily accepted for the goods he desired, was, we are told, forty-eight hours in the city, unable to find, or those to whom he brought introductory letters, to find for him, shelter in any of our respectable hotels. A complexion for which they are in no wise responsible subjects colored people among white American Christians (so-called) to a treatment, especially out of business relations, as exclusive and as proscriptive as though they were afflicted with the worst kind of leprosy. We earnestly commend this subject again to the attention of the clergymen and church members of this city and elsewhere.

SOUTH CAROLINA—THE FIRST COLORED POSTMASTER

Postmaster Gen. Cresswell, has at the earnest solicitation of Hon. B. F. Whittemore, member of Congress from South Carolina, appointed H. J Maxwell of Bennettsville, S. C., Postmaster for that place. Mr. Maxwell is a very intelligent *black* man, free born, a native of Charleston, educated in the schools of the North; was a Commissary Sergeant in the army of the Tenessee during the war of the rebellion; has been engaged in teaching in his native State since the war; and earnestly laboring in the cause of reconstruction, eloquently advocating the rights of humanity, until he has not only aided in restoring his State to her practical relations in the Union, but now sits in the Senate of South Carolina as a law maker under the new *regime*.

Congressman Whittemore recognizing the ability and worth of Mr. Maxwell, was determined to test the sincerity of the administration and claimed for the representative black man his share of the federal patronage, which was promptly granted by Postmaster Gen. Cresswell. This is the first black man who has received an appointment under the Grant administration and argues that "no discrimination is to be made on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" so far as the holding of office is concerned under the National dispensation. This is as it should be, and an acknowledgement of the rights of the colored race in advance of the declaration of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution.

South Carolina has secured "the test," and the Hon. Mr. Whittemore has the credit of setting the example to his associates in demanding for the colored man his equal rights under the law.

WOMANS' RIGHTS IN CONGRESS.

Hon. George W. Julian, on the 15th inst., introduced in the House of Representatives, bills for the enfranchisment of the women of the District of Columbia, and of all the Territories; with a special bill for the territory of Utah. He also introduced on the same day a resolution proposing an additional Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, to be known as Article XVI., as follows:

The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based upon citizenship, and shall be regulated by Congress; and all citizens of the United States, whether native or naturalized, shall enjoy this right equally, without any distinction or discrimination whatever founded on sex.

We congratulate the friends of woman suffrage that the question, as presented by Mr. Julian's Amendment, is made a distinct, national issue; and that one, who, by his long and honorable service in the House of Reprentatives, as an advocate of equal freedom for the colored race, has won our confidence and esteem, becomes, very opportunely, the champion also of woman's enfranchisement.

Since the Fifteenth Amendment, guaranteeing suffrage to colored men, upon equal terms with whites, has passed beyond the jurisdiction of Congress, and can no longer be hindered and embarrassed in that body by the negro-hating, insincere triflers with woman suffrage, we hear little about the political wrongs of women from copperhead Senators and Representatives, or from the negro-hating, copperhead journals, such as *The New York World* and *The Boston Post*.

There is nothing in the Amendment above quoted to prevent, or to render less desirable the presentation of the question of suffrage for women in the State Legislatures, as it was recently presented in Rhode Island; is to be next week in the Massachusetts Legislature by Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone and others; and as it has been presented in some of the Western State Legislatures. It is a proper subject for State action, and its consideration in the Legislatures is very useful as a means of public discussion and education. But we deem it most auspicious that the issue, as fairly and distinctly embodied in the Amendment offered by Mr. Julian, becomes thus early a national one. We doubt not that before a third of the States shall have been induced to adopt woman suffrage as States separately, the required three-fourths can be brought to ratify by concert of action an amendment of the National Constitution, making suffrage uniform and impartial, as it should be, throughout the Union, irrespective of sex.

Mr. Julian's joint resolution was read twice and referred to the Judiciary Committee. We hope that Committee will bring it before the House at an early day, and that, with the bills for the immediate enfranchisement of the women of the District of Columbia and of the territories, it may be speedily brought to a vote. The friends of woman's enfranchisement should everywhere, by petition and otherwise, call upon Congress for prompt action. We have no doubt that when the question can once command serious consideration and an honest vote upon its own merits, the opposition to it will be found to be comparatively feeble, and unavailing.

The action of President Grant and Postmaster General Cresswell in appointing Miss Van Lew of Richmond, Va., Miss Eddy, of Mass., and other competent women as official representatives in charge of post offices, is highly commendable and a very encouraging indication of progress. If women are deemed competent to hold office, the question will naturally follow whether they are not also quite as competent to vote?

We shall hail with great satisfaction the action of any advance State, whether it be Kansas or Massachusetts, which shall lead the way, and give the nation, and the world, a needed precedent of a truly Republican governmeut, knowing no distinction among its citizens on account of sex. But national duty requires, as "manifest destiny" points to, uniformity of suffrage in all parts of the Union, its free exercise to be guaranteed alike to women as to men, by Federal authority.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

On Tuesday next, the 30th inst., Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone and others, will address the Massachusetts Legislature in behalf of suffrage for women.

The Hon. James M. Simms of Savannah, Ga., one of the expelled members of the Georgia Legislature, Aaron M. Powell, and others, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society will address a public meeting in New Haven, at Tyler Hall, on Friday evening March, 26th, in support of the Suffrage Amendment.

The Hon. James M. Simms of Savannah, Ga., gave a lecture of much interest upon affairs in Georgia at the Cooper Institute (Room 24) on Friday evening the 19th inst., under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society. We shall publish a synopsis of the lecture in our next issue. The audience, though not large was excellent in quality, and Mr. Simms was listened to with the closest attention.

There is considerable competition among candidates for the post of Minister to Hayti. Among the well known colored men who have been named in connection with the office are Frederick Douglass, John M. Langston, George T. Downing, Prof. William Howard Day, Prof. E. D. Bassett, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Jouvert of New Orleans. We are glad to notice the presentation of so good a list of names for the President to choose from, and shall expect one of the number will receive the appointment.

We are glad to be able to announce to our friends in Connecticut that, in addition to Mr. Simms of Georgia, and Wm. P. Powell of this city, the American Anti Slavery Society has arranged also with Charles C. Burleigh and William Wells Brown to lecture in its behalf, and in support of the Suffrage Amendment in that State. We shall be glad to receive invitations for either and all of the above speakers, from any of our Connecticut readers. The opponents of the colored people will leave no stone unturned which may contribute to throw Connecticut into the scale of the negro-hating rebel "Democracy." Let the friends of impartial freedom spare no effort to prevent so inauspicious a result.

The following despatch has been received by Mr. Edward Cromwell, of the Executive Committeeof the United States Indian Commission:—

Fort Gibson, Cherokee Country,
West of Arkansas, March 15th, 1869.

I have seen many Indians of the Cherokee, Creek, Osage, Delaware, Neosho, Shawnee and Paola tribes, and in cleanliness of person, respectful quietness of manner, the construction of their cabins and fences, they are quite as far advanced as the majority of the white settlers, their immediate neighbors. There were greatly distressed at the talk of extermination which was so prevalent lately: but the cheering words in Grant's inaugural on their behalf has given them new life. I leave for the Washita Mountains to-morrow morning.

Vincent Colyer.
Secretary of the United States Indian Commission.

The New York *Evening Post* says:

"President Grant yesterday sent in to the Senate the names of Elizabeth Van Lew to be postmaster at Richmond, Virginia; Eliza F. Evans to be postmaster at Ravenna, Ohio; and Emily J. C. Bushnell to be postmaster at Sterling, in Illinois.

"It is not a new thing under the sun that a woman should be made postmaster; in England many of the country offices are in charge of women; in this country several Presidents have appointed women to such places: and certainly no one can object to the appointment of Elizabeth Van Lew, which is 'in acknowledgment of important services to the Union army during the rebellion.' A woman who was able to render 'important services' to her country during a time of war, is doubtless able to manage a post-office"—

—and, we should add, is also quite competent to vote.

The Legislature of Louisiana adjourned on the 4th inst. *The New Orleans Advocate* says that, with few exceptions, the members have labored with commendable industry, and adds:

"The colored members especially have developed a legislative genius far beyond their early opportunities, and will compare favorably with white men under like circumstances, while Lieutenant-Governor Dunn has no equal in either house. In reviewing the acts of the session, we deplore the predominance of *special legislation*, and particularly the vast number of individual claims. This last is a grieveous evil, and no State can bear the burden. It should stop here. We predict that even the members themselves will yet have reason to regret the stupendous monopolies in the form of railroad, canal, and slaughter-house bills which they have passed, but will always have cause to rejoice in the ratification of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in the passage of the civil rights bill and the bill for public education."

We are glad to learn that the Hon. and Rev. James M. Simms has made a very auspicious commencement of his labors in behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Connecticut. In a private note from New Haven, dated March 22d, William P. Powell, Esq., who accompanies Mr. Simms upon his missionary tour in Connecticut, says:

"Our friend Mr. Simms preached last evening in the Temple street, Congregational Church. He also addressed a large Sunday School. He preached in the afternoon in the Methodist Episcopal Bethel Church. This (Monday) forenoon Mr. Simms attended by invitation a "preachers meeting." Among those in attendance were Rev. Dr. Peck, Dr. Bacon, Rev. Dr. Phelps and others, nineteen clergyman in all. He is invited to speak in Rev. Dr. Phelps' church on Tuesday evening, the 23d inst. Arrangements are also being made to hold a public meeting in the Temple street Church this week. I believe the field is ready for the plough, only the people are too timid. They must be worked up to a true line of duty."

We are compelled for want of space to defer several very interesting letters, and other matter intended for our present issue.

PERSONAL.

Postmaster Gen. Cresswell has appointed Miss Anna C. Eddy postmistress at East Middleborough, Mass.

Rev. Mrs. P. A. Hanaford is to supply the pulpit of the Universalist society at Waltham, Mass., for the coming year, in addition to her charge at Hingham.

The Vinton (Iowa) *Eagle* says:

"Charles Taylor, a colored citizen of Oskaloosa, was selected as a juror a few days ago, and unchallenged, took his seat in the box. The event drew a large crowd to the court room. The case was one wherein the plaintiff was a colored man."

John B. Gough, will deliver one of his old-fashioned, soul-stirring lectures, on temperance, at the Cooper Institute, Friday evening, April 2d, at 8 o'clock. John N. Stearns, Esq., G. W. T. of the Temple of Honor, will preside. Resolutions in favor of supporting the Metropolitan Excise Law will be submitted to the audience for adoption.

Rev. Samuel Johnson of Salem, Mass., addressed the "Sunday afternoon" meeting at Horticultural Hall, Boston, on the 20th inst. His subject was: "The Piety of Pantheism and its relation to the Age, as illustrated in the Higher Forms of Hindu Philosophy and Faith." A friend in Boston writing of Mr. Johnson's discourse, says: "It was profound, and inspiring as well, as you can imagine, and gave delight to one of the most thoughtful companies Boston ever assembled. Mr. Weiss, Dr. Hedge, Mrs. Cheney, Mrs. Dall, Miss Stevenson and others were among the audience. The next speakers are to be Mrs. Howe, R. W. Emerson, Wendell Phillips, and Lucretia Mott successively."

The (Boston) *Sunday Times* of the 20 inst says:

"Miss Kate Field is to appear at Chickering's Rooms a week from next Wednesday, in behalf of the right of her sex to declare their opinions in the lyceum. Her own claim for a position there will not need strenuous urging if the pleasantness and originality of her writing is found in connection with her spoken thoughts. Nor could her sisters who are aspiring to the publicity of the platform find a champion more probable to open them a path to the fame that comes of the lecture, etc., than one who has so honestly earned herself a hearing by the deeds of her pen that have preceded the coming words. No imposing disquisition is intended, but simply a short chat to her friends upon her ideas on this disturbed question, which she has been led to by the approval her thoughts on the matter have met with within the privacy of the Woman's Club of Boston, and like gatherings of congenial spirits. It is easy to surmise the effect this promise Miss Field makes to appear in public will have in a place where she is so widely known and appreciated, and we can but believe that it will result in her further use of the desk, with much advantage to her friends and self. Admission may be secured at Messrs. Fields, Osgood & Co's store from to-morrow."

Mr. C. H. Brainard of Boston has prepared a lecture on Whittier which he has given with great acceptance before the Young Men's Christian Association, and also the Woman's Medical College of this city and in Boston and vicinity. The New York *Evening Mail*, in a notice of Mr. Brainard's lecture, says:

"This gentleman is fitted to speak on the subject from a long and early acquaintance with the poet, as well as from a vivid sympathy with his humanitarian and political views. The lecture was carefully written, and read with a grace and force of expression that added two-fold to its charm. To an agreeable voice, and trained habits of speaking, Mr. Brainard adds a justness of delivery that commends the literary polish of his style. He traced the history of the Whittiers from that Friend Whittier of colonial times, who refused to combat the Indians with powder and ball, to the peace-loving unstained poet of the day. The early life of the subject was sketched, and the names and peculiarities filled in the outlines given in his farm-house idyls, in a way which will make the reading of his poems in future a fresh pleasure. His political and editorial life was rapidly reviewed, and the connection of various poems with events of the times were given. The recitation of the finest passages of his best political poems by one who was with him in the contest, as may well be supposed, was given with a tempered fervor second only to the reading of the poet himself."

LETTER FROM REV. JAMES M. SIMMS.

New York, March 19th, 1869.

Aaron M. Powell Esq.,—*Dear Sir:* It was my happy privilege of attending on Monday evening last one of the most interesting meetings that, perhaps, ever was held in the old city of Richmond, Virginia. You may think this is saying a great deal when we consider the place spoken of and its history. But I venture the assertion that since the days of Patrick Henry, no person ever addressed an audience of Americans more in the earnest spirit of true liberty and patriotism than did the lecturer on that occasion, Miss Salie Holley of New York. The old Baptist Church was filled with an attentive and appreciative, if not what is generally considered an intellectual audience; and by this I mean that they were all colored excepting about a dozen whites, and consisted of male and female. For the good of our common country and the cause of justice, I really wish that all Richmond could have heard or read this lecture.

Miss Holley on being introduced commenced by reading from the Bible, Luke's gospel, chap. 4th, from the 16th to the 44th verses; after which she herself offered a fervent prayer to God, most suitable to the occasion. Her theme was then announced, "Liberty for all a Principle, in this American Country;" as announced by Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death," and understood, preached, and practiced by the Anti-Slavery Society of which she has been a member for more than eighteen years. I will not attempt to give you even a synopsis of the lecture, for I would fail to convey to your mind anything like what was produced upon my own, and I believe all present; for the glory and spirit of the Lord seemed to shine about her and she appeared and spoke as one inspired.

With the truth earnestly and fearlessly spoken everywhere in our country, as by Miss Holley that evening, Caste Prejudice, the twin sister of Human Slavery must also perish forever, and a free country, just laws, and pure gospel, the heritage of every American citizen be realized.

You may judge to some extent of the state of things that still exists from this caste prejudice, when I inform you that the business which carried me to Richmond was the duty of bringing a suit against the Richmond Fredricksburg and Potomac Railroad Company for damages upon me in the infringement of rights or breach of contract. The company through its agent at Washington sold me a first class ticket over its road, and when I had peaceably taken a seat in the saloon used by all passengers usually paying first class fare, the captain of the steamer (Keyport), one Frank Hollingshead rudely ejected me out of said saloon and put me on the main deck among the freight and baggage, on the ground that Niggers were not allowed in the saloon. I remonstrated against such treatment and exhibited the ticket sold me by the agent of the company to the other passengers; but all silently witnessed the outrage, except one man who did have the moral courage to utter a protest.

This chivalric captain insultingly turned to him, and exclaimed, "shut up, I care less for you than I does for the nigger," in true Southern style of bullying. When the stranger, whom I take to be a Northern gentlemen, only replied, "I am speaking to him (pointing to me) and not to you." This ended the matter between the stranger and the captain, as far as I heard and saw. I then became the victim of his malicious prejudice, and thus I have appealed to the only legal source of redress, the District Court of Virginia, for damages. Whether justice will be done me, remains yet to be seen; but this at least is my duty and that of every citizen who loves justice, to meet these issues and contest them at every point; for justice, like truth, is mighty and must prevail.

Yours, for justice and humanity,

J. M. Simms.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, March 21st, 1869.

I have heretofore mentioned to you, I think, a proposition in our Legislature to make some provision whereby Public Libraries and reading-rooms might be enabled to supply the wants of the people on Sundays, without exposure to the charge of violating the Sunday laws. This measure is now defeated, by a vote of our Senate, 22 to 11. There was animated discussion upon this matter in the Senate at two or three different sessions, at the last of which I had the good fortune to be present. To give some idea of the sort of reasons urged against the proposed measure, I will mention the principal ones actually stated in the Senate.

These were that remonstrances against the opening of the Boston Public Library on Sundays had come from sixty clergymen of this city, headed by two Bishops of the Episcopal Church, and also from members of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Boston and Roxbury; that Sabbath-breaking was the natural introduction to, and a main cause of, all other crime; that if the Library were opened, people would not go there to seek religious reading, but secular; that the strictness of the Puritanical Sabbath ought to be maintained; and, finally, that the existing law stands on the fact that man has not only a physical but a spiritual nature, whence we recognize the propriety of setting apart one day in seven from ordinary uses, and requiring conformity to this rule on the part of the community.

In a previous session it had also been urged that, since the observance of Sunday as a Sabbath was a *divine* appointment, the measure proposed would be a desecration of the day, and that the proposition to open the Library on that day came from "free-thinkers."

Several Senators, however, commended the project of opening the Public Library and reading-room, answering the objections urged above substantially as follows:—

Even supposing the measure proposed to have originated with "free-thinkers," one might possibly choose rather to be classed with them than with the witch-hanging Puritan persecutors. But, coming to the merits of the case itself, there was no ground whatever for the assertion that the first day of the week would be "desecrated" by the use of it proposed. The word desecrated has no appropriate use here, since the law specifying Sunday for special observance is in no manner or sense divine. It is found in the Puritan statute-book, but *not* in the Bible. It is *not* a law of God, but a merely human ordinance, to be judged by its fruits, some of which are manifestly evil. But, not only is this objection unfounded, the work in question is a positively good work, having an influence not only beneficial but Christian. The supply of useful reading, on Sundays, in a comfortable and quiet room, to people who would otherwise be idly wandering, amidst temptations to employments directly vicious, is in every sense a good work, and one from which good, and only good, is reasonably to be expected.

As this view of the benefits of a supply of gratuitous Sunday reading for the street population may be pronounced, by some, theoretical and visionary, your correspondent will give here an extract from a letter just received by a minister in this city, from one who calls himself "an orthodox Calvinistic divine," and who has made the following experiment in a town on Long Island, N. Y., which he communicates for the encouragement of those who are trying to open a Public Library here. He says—

"In January I opened a Free Reading-room in our little town, supplying it with games of chess and checkers during the week-days. On Sundays the games were removed, and all the Monthlies, Quarterlies, Dickens's novels, Scott's, etc., etc., were placed freely on the tables, with a few, very few, Bibles and tracts, (among others three of Parton's Smoking and Drinking,) scattered here and there.

"The room was thronged, and both street corners and gin-shops felt the influence of the Free Reading and Social room.

"Sunday from 1 till 9 1-4 p. m. the crowd was large. They sat talking and reading where formerly they roamed the streets or gathered in grog-shops. The thing will work, and work well."

But I have made this little digression before telling you the result of the debate in the Senate. The question being taken, the opening of the Public Library and Reading-room on Sundays was refused, 22 nays to 11 yeas.

The matter of business coming up next in order was a bill to incorporate the Chelsea and South Malden Street Railway Company, whose cars are even more crowded Sundays than other days. When the question was about to be taken, a Senator (who had voted affirmatively on the Sunday Reading-room question) moved the addition of a section, forfeiting the act if the Corporation allowed the running of its cars on Sunday. This amendment, amid general merriment, was lost, by a vote of 4 yeas to 30 nays. The mover said, in explanation, that he did not desire such a provision to be adopted, but to give an opportunity to the friends of Sunday observance to be consistent in their legislation. He was, however, pleased to know that the observance was not to be any more rigidly enforced. Another member remarked that if the provision had been more broad, covering all the railroad corporations of the State, he would have voted for it.

Speaking of Puritanism, one of its self-constituted defenders here seems to be making provision that the enfranchisement of women, which appears to be rapidly approaching in the State, may at least be kept out of the Church. The *Congregational Review*, one of the organs of extreme theological conservatism, says editorially, in its March number, "We are strongly in favor of the 'ounce of prevention,' and the 'stitch in time,' as applied to the management of ecclesiastical affairs;" and it adds that "A few wise and simple rules firmly adhered to, would save many a society from bitter contests and disastrous divisions."

The sort of cause for contest and division here glanced at is shown by a brief sentence in the plan of organization of the Berkeley Street Church and Society, Boston, which is recommended as a model to orthodox churches. After a paragraph describing how the Berkeley Street "Church" shall arrange with the Berkeley street "Pew Proprietors" in the choice of a Pastor, comes the following explanatory clause:

"By the word 'Church' herein before used, is meant *male* members of the Church of the age of twenty-one years and upwards."

The protective supervision by men over women which Dr. Todd and his sort of people claim as divinely appointed, indispensable to human welfare, and a great blessing to women themselves, seems to be much the same in the Church as in the State. The woman, even after she has been converted and regenerated, still remains "the weaker vessel," and must still be governed and restricted as such. Perhaps it is for fear of dangerous results to the Church that a majority of the representatives of Puritanic Calvanism stand so firmly opposed to the voting of women in the State. Be that as it may, one thing is clear, that a woman is in one respect a loser by joining the Berkeley street Church. While she is merely an unregenerate Pew Proprietor, she has her vote. She has respect and consideration. She is a *person* and can not only give her suffrage but declare her opinion and state her reasons for it, thus not only influencing the decision but influencing the body that makes the decision. If, by the skilful management of some revivalist, she is seduced into joining the Berkeley street Church, she gains the privilege of being called "sister," (whatever that may be worth), but becomes, by express provision of the Church, a piece of movable furniture, voiceless and voteless, subject to the votes of the "brethren," but having no power to influence those votes, either by hand or speech, even though they should seem to her wrong or evil. Is it not a shame for women to speak in the church? And will the women of Berkely Street Church have the assurance to pretend that they, in 1869, are entitled to any rights other than those conceded to and exercised by the women of Corinth in the year 57 of the Christian era?

22d.—Rev. Samuel Johnson gave, yesterday afternoon, in Horticultural Hall, a long and learned discourse on "The Piety of Pantheism," with illustrations from the sacred literature of the Hindus.

Christianity, he said, is fragmentary and imperfect, like the other religions. It has had little success outside the Aryan family of nations. Neither Jews, Hindus nor Chinese are destined to become Christians.

Mr. Johnson praised that custom of the writers of the Upanishads which speaks of the Deity as "It" and "That," rather than Him. We must go, he said, behind all specific forms, and affirm that Truth, Right, Intelligence are God. Monotheism must widen into Pantheistic hospitality and freedom. He then read various extracts to show that the Pantheistic idea of God was full of the highest spirituality, that it admitted the use of prayer, and that it did *not* involve the desire for annihilation in its devotees. To abide in "the Spirit that is without strife, decay, death or fear" was the substance of the Hindu's yearnings.

Alluding to the popular dread of fatalism, the speaker said: A religion without fate is unsound. The laws of natpre and the soul are fate. Theism without fate is Atheism; and Atheism (so-called) with justice for fate, is Theism, though it refuse the name. We must not imagine Hindu fatalism to have prevented moral energy, or been inconsistent with it.

Incarnation means simply that God is in the universe, not as abstraction, but as life. All faiths have affirmed it. God and the soul are essentially one. The truth is that incarnation comes wherever true and beautiful lives are lived.

Mr. Johnson closed by referring to the "Brahmo Somaj," a sect of Theistic reformers in India, now rapidly increasing, which inherits the grand affirmations of the old Hindu Scriptures without being bound by them, which blends the old mystic fervor with the purest practical morality, and which aims at the religious and social regeneration of India.

It seemed to your correspondent, in listening to the lecture containing these fragments, that Mr. Johnson could hardly have reached the conclusions drawn in it without making a double *selection;* namely, of the best things in the Hindu Scriptures, on one side; and on the other side, the poorest things in the Old and New Testaments, and the idea of religion expressed in the creed of the orthodox faith; and setting these two in contrast.

There are two current definitions of Christianity. One makes that system to be the acceptance of Jesus as God, (and also as a Meditator between God and men), and reliance on his personal intercession and atoning sacrifice as the only ground of acceptance with the Heavenly Father. Another interpretation makes Christianity to be the method of living taught by Jesus of Nazareth, called "Christ," the essence and distinctive peculiarity of which was that Religion is love to God as the universal Father, and to men as equal brethren.

This last, Theodore Parker thought, was the *correct* definition of Christianity; and he said that, thus interpreted, Christianity was identical with the absolute religion.

It was at Mr. Johnson's option to define Christianity in this manner; but in that case he could not have represented it as inferior, either to his collation of the best things in Hindu philosophy and religion, or to religion as shown either in the books or the practical life of any other faith ancient or modern. He chose, however, the current definition as the popular preaching of Calvinistic Puritanism has moulded it. And he did succeed in showing that the best parts of the Hindu faith are better than the system taught for half-a-century past by our pro-slavery Doctors of Divinity?

As some readers of The Standard may be glad to see a fuller report of this lecture, I will mention that a very good report, to the extent of a column and a half, is given in the *Boston Post* of this (Monday) morning; also, that the *Post* has given fuller abstracts than any other paper of all the lectures in this course.

At the hearing given this morning by the House Committee on the Judiciary, to whom have been referred various petitions for a revision of the Sunday laws, remarks in favor of such revision, with particular mention of the desirableness of having the Public Library and Reading-room open to the community on Sundays were made by two clergymen of this city, four other gentlemen, and two ladies. No one appeared in opposition.

It was stated by Rev. Edward E. Hale that a majority of the Trustees of the Public Library, with its Superintendent and Librarian, were now decidedly in favor of opening the institution Sunday afternoons and evenings; and that they also favor the idea of opening a Sunday free reading-room in every Ward of the city; abundant testimony showed that excellent results to the temperance, good order and quietness of the city, and to the public welfare generally, might be expected from the carrying out of these plans. The library and reading-room of the Young Men's Christian Union have been open to the public on Sundays for some weeks past, and the large attend ance there given, with perfect propriety of conduct, shows the desirableness of a larger movement in the same direction, and in various quarters of the city.

North.

THE RADICAL CLUB.

The Radical Club met in Boston at the house of Mr. and Mrs. John T. Sargent, Monday morning, March 15th Mr. S. H. Morse, one of the Editors of *The Radical*, had been invited to read the essay, but upon being introduced he congratulated the company on his having decided to leave some fifty pages of manuscript at home. He said he should only undertake to introduce a theme for conversation, that he would like to have discussed. Mr. Morse then spoke nearly an hour from brief notes. The following is the substance of his remarks. The subject was

THE SOUL AND THE WORLD.

It was a pertinent question, After Grant, what? There is a significance in it much beyond our political prospect, be that all one could wish. Peace, we say. Have we peace? Instead of the "dogs of war," we let loose the dogs of "peace." Bismark telegraphs that he thinks Napoleon means "peace," Napoleon declares his "empire *is* peace," and Grant says, "Let *us* have peace." Well, when all's done, is political peace more than an opportunity—a breathing spell—a chance to become at length able to dispense with the service of these guardians of our lives and property? If this were not the ideal aim, I think our much prized "peace" would come to us but poorly recommended.

Politically we fail, and utterly, to achieve our real purpose. At best our peace is but a truce: to-day it is, and to-morrow it is not. A season of commercial prosperity, some new complication of affairs, and then, from words we come to blows. What we want is individual peace. Self-government should mean somewhat other than voting a wise police system to keep us from cutting each other's throats.

"After Grant, what?" not peace; no, we are not so far along. A religious revolution, if I may so speak, follows up our advantage, or the cost of it was so much wasted; for though this "peace" continue, it continues to no worthy end.

It can hardly be said that America has experienced religion yet. Certainly there has been no religious principle controlling our politics. There have been moments of enthusiasm when we have felt a thrill of what is to come, and uttered noble sentiments indicating the religious idea that is to reign. But what we mistook for our religion was foreign to it, and we did not carry the thought up to its summits. It has not been our inspiration. With us Church and State are divorced. Religion and politics are other and different things. I think the old idea that the Church and State should be *one*, the Church supreme and controlling, the State subordinate, attendant, of service when the dispute passes beyond spiritual arbitrament, and force is demanded, is nearest right. To what eloquence and earnestness of appeal did we listen a few weeks ago? Mr. Linton adopts a religious basis for the organization of the State. That is the scope of the republicanism of Europe. It organizes duties. Church and State under the Mazzini school are to be one. The old tradition is kept, but is made alive in a new and rational interpretation. The Church, as an institution to regulate our affairs for the next world, disappears. But the supremacy of the religious idea remains. The illusion of a future heaven in another sphere is lost, and attention turns to the present, to life itself. "Religion is *life*," says Mazzini. Paradise is to be organized upon the earth. His religion is a present and practical affair, a thing of personal and social experience.

Starting upon this religious basis which introduces the idea of a heaven upon earth, the questions our politics has slurred, our social life has ignored, our so-called religious life has adjourned for God's opportunity beyond the grave, crowd around us for immediate solution. They are religious, because related to the highest and permanent ends of being. *Temporal* and *eternal* are words which come to us with a present meaning. They signify ideal aims of actual present attainment, not two careers divided by physical death.

Our republicanism has not attained to this conviction. We yet have *politics* for this world, and *religion* for the next; the old order of "temporal affairs," and "eternal affairs," to be run on entirely different methods and principles. Mr. Sumner introduces a petition to the Senate for the recognition of Almighty God, and says, "Such special marks of favor have been showered upon this nation by providence, the matter of putting his name in the Constitution should receive immediate and favorable consideration." Beyond this evaporating sentimentality for paying off our religious debt, our republicanism does not venture. Our other distinguished Senator recently announced that he had then for the *first time* experienced religion and made his peace with God. For thirty or more years he had carried on his republicanism without "religion;" he might have gone down to his grave without religion and his republicanism have received no detriment.

The difference between political politics and religious politics appears in this, the one is negative, and has no inner life or creating principle; it says, "Keep quiet," and then its mission is ended: the other is constructive, applying ideal principles: the necessity is not from without, but from within. In this light how does our political history read? Take the noblest chapter which treats of emancipation. We did everything because we must, or perish ourselves. If we could save the darling Union without emancipation, we would. Emancipation, the negro soldier, the negro voter, all came at the last moment and as the alternatives of a lost cause. Was the principle on which we acted the same which we have supposed would control our affairs in the heaven of our religion—the heaven of a next world?

So we ask, after all we have got by *such* concessions and devotion to principles, after this what? Universal Suffrage, peace, prosperity: is there no *delusion* here? Will it last? It appears very much as though our affairs were yet only "temporal."

We need to disannul the divorce between Church and State. Regard Heaven as a work of creation, and build the eternal here, and now.

There are indications that a reform of this sort is already inaugurated. Every day gives evidence of a growing excitement on the subject of religion. America is to have a religion which is not a promissory note for the next life, not a memory, not an echo from Judea.

The charge is that those already moved by this thought have no positive, hopeful aim. These critics simply do not see the aim. They must be permitted to have their say, and perhaps, die without a sight. The aim is positive and constructive even as it lies in the minds of those whose method as yet has been wholly critical.

The scope of the reform appears to be that God has his heaven here, and is actually present here in person to attend to his business. Experience has shown him that this is the only way to get anything done. His official agents from "above" turn out but poorly. He is here now in Humanity, in the daily experience of *all* men the and women, in outward nature. A modern poet sings—

> "The mystic eyes for God that glowed*
> Now see him coming down the road.
> He is the green in every blade,
> The health in every boy and maid.
> In yonder sunrise flag he blooms
> Above a Nation's well earned tombs.
> That empty sleeve his arm contains,
> That blushing scar his anger drains.
> The freedman's knock his errand brings,
> The nurse's plea his mercy sings."

Religion touches our political methods to dignify and apologize for them. They are of importance only as their relation to Religion is not severed. Constructive political methods at best but furnish opportunity. For what do they construct? Peace? No, a comfortable house, outward accommodations; but not that peace of mind on which we rest as on eternity.

Even when we deal with the problems of social science, their aggregation of "facts," their quantity of "receipts," we but arrange an outward accommodation that serves the ends of comfort, but even there serves imperfectly. We find *peace* not even in comfort, in physical health, in good wages, in riches. The voting question is a failure, the health question is a failure, the labor question is a failure. Settle all these satisfactorily, gain the all of outward prosperity, the whole of civilization, and yet we are not content; still we ask, "After this, what?"

The fact is, such a peace is not only impossible, if gained it would be the end of us.

Religion but passes along touching all these things in praise of their tendency, in gratitude for the little they can contribute.

Peace is not on earth among the things. It is indeed in the heavens, but not in the sensuous heaven of the old Church.

"My mind to me a kingdom is."

In withdrawing our thoughts from the old conception of a particular heavenly locality, in saying, the earth is our abode, it is difficult to set aside the sensuous expectations, and we think that the peace which passeth understanding, *can* be understood, and handled and tasted; that it is still to be sought and found among the things, *in* the things themselves, and in their scientific arrangement. But God has never arranged such a heaven for himself. *Things arranged* are short-lived and return to chaos. Things are chaotic by nature. God has brought order *out* of chaos, but chaos remains. Order brought *into* chaos? *That* would be the calamity. Creation would stop, and God would die of *ennui*.

The joy of heaven, the peace of God, pure religion, consist in a superiority to the circumstances in which we abide. The soul's return into its integrity after its gymnastics among the things, after its defeat there, is its seventh day of rest. The heavens are always invisible. We may give over our hope to prepare for ourselves a visible heaven out of mud. Heaven is not of time of space or matter.

But, this is *heresy* to our "modern culture," our ideal of to-day's progress.

In the midst of our wonderful activities, buoyed up by glowing, impassioned hopes, there is a prevailing scepticism reaching all classes as to this high import of life. Yet it needs but our every day experience to reveal the fact that the things which stand as sufficient for the soul's need in place of it, are not sufficient. Our "salvation" is social; it is outward excitement. Hardly a soul dares to dwell alone. When Thoreau went into Walden woods, the people asked him if he was not afraid.

But here and now, as ever, each soul must stand alone or never know of peace. We no longer "lift our eyes up to the hills whence come, our help." No saviors have we, no home whither we are journeying. The soul must ascend to its own abode, not hiding under the wings of the Almighty for *protection*, but realizing his delight, his safety, his peace.

Both the idea of God and of Immortality are lost in our politics and in social science. Religion has there no satisfaction, no serenity, nothing but despair. She is outlawed, and scourged and crucified. Did she not come as an alien from her own glory, she must have perished indeed.

Science dreams not of this God-soul. Men mouth about finding God in nature: they find only wood hay and stubble. Nature hints at something; the soul alone can say what.

The spiritual realm is thought of as sensuous, and given over to walking ghosts. If one of them "raps," you have "*proof* of immortality." For one I submit that such "proof" is rather oppressive than satisfactory. The soul repudiates "proofs," "arguments in *favor* of immortality." For one I get no realizing sense of immortality from any nor all of these things. One somehow feels as though something was wrong, as though if this be immortality, it is no great affair. In hearing Mr. Emerson's lecture on immortality, I brought away with me one sentence, "I do not wish to live to wear out my old boots," which gives a more realizing sense of the *soul's* immortality than all the "evidences" I have met with from any other quarter. Immortality is spiritual sight. Even but the *memory* of one look is a joy which the resurrection and movements of bodies however sublimated neither add to nor diminish. It was a happy thought with Jesus when he said, "Because I live, ye shall live also." What he could experience others of kindred nature could, and this assurance covers the entire ground. One feels like saying, then, "Why, is there such a thing as the grave?"

I think that there *are* such things as sacred Scriptures. There are sacred utterances which we would not let die; then there are profane utterances which we burn from day to day. Much of Congressional eloquence is of this last named sort; most of platform oratory; wild harangues about "rights" and "wrongs" which echo the selfish nature. Things have a language of their own. The soul has its language. A friend has supplied me with a few verses from the "Hindo Scriptures:"

"The soul which is subtler than that which is subtle, sweeter than that which is sweet, abides in the heart of the living.

"He who is free from desire, and without grief, knows through the tranquility of the senses, that majesty of the soul.

"The soul cannot be gained by knowledge, not by understanding, not by manifold science. It can be obtained by the soul by which it is desired.

"The soul reveals itself to its own worshippers.

"Higher than the soul is nought. It is the last limit, the last good. Sitting it goes afar, sleeping, it goes everywhere.

"Thinking the soul as unbodily among bodies, as firm among the fleeting things, as great and unpretending, the wise cast off all grief."

If we are wiser than the Hindoos in the world of things, have we not forgotten the sources of wisdom through the soul?

Our Hebrew Scriptures are by no means without the language of the soul. Here are a few sentences taken from the "Apocrypha," which remain like the stars:

"Wisdom is more moving than any notion: She passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her pureness.

"And being *one*, she can do all things: and remaining in herself, she maketh all things new; and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God and prophets.

"For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty."

I count these sayings among the highest, among the most practical of religious teachings. Their use is in their beauty, but use is not suggested. It is the spirit they invoke which sanctifies them to those souls who read or listen. It is their tranquilizing effects which are of value, if any are disposed to measure or weigh them, looking to ends. Yet none need think to commit them and mechanically go through their recital, hoping thereby to grow lusty with spiritual strength. The self-seeking spirit that would so turn them to account, misses both their over and under tone, their clear, pure atmosphere is spoiled with its breath. Such an one is calmed by no mountain air; he is cooled by no bounteous shade. He is killed off as by sun-stroke.

Religion in its purity is not only this subtle spirit, it has a most subtle and pure method. It has its own way of imparting itself. Its ways are not as man's ways. It is not for *use*, hence there is no "most useful method" whereby we may appropriate and administer it. Isaiah caught the spirit of its only method. He wrote, "Thou shalt bring down the noise of strangers as the heat in a dry place, even the heat with the shadow of a cloud." Said Jesus, "Ye hear the sound thereof but can not tell whence it cometh." Teachers of religion, like poets, are born. It is as impossible to turn out a "class" of the one by sending young men to "school," as of the other. One asks, on reading that Mr. Beecher says he never passes a man without thinking how he can manage him, he himself being like an engineer who never passes a fort without thinking of a plan to take it—one wonders on hearing of this method of religious enterprise, what is the condition of a man whom Mr. Beecher has thus "managed." Doubtless Mr. Beecher has done much good in soothing the sorrows of people, in turning them from many poor paths. A man may realize that he is a "taken fort," and yet finding his condition improved, may be very grateful and happy, but that he, is thenceforth a religious soul, need not follow: nor does the fact that he has been helped prove his benefactor to have been "a friend and prophet of God." Souls that are "saved" stand in truer relations to each other.

"The soul imparts itself to its own worshippers." "It can be obtained by the soul by which it is desired." The worshipper to whom the soul has imparted itself, in his manners, in the hymn he chants, awakens the desire in others; admonishes them with a winning spirit: proclaims the tranquility of the soul, its peace, its eternity, its superiority, its power to live in repose above the fleeting and perishable things of time. It is the refuge in afflictions of mind or body, a present help from heaven. A gentleman of real culture, and a hard day-laborer, who went to see Thoreau at Walden, where he was said to be idling away his time, told me recently that he felt while there, as though he himself was the "loafer," and coming away when near the depot he heard the whistle of the locomotive, he waked out of his reverie, and said to himself "Why, do they keep those things running yet?" It was hard at first to realize that the world was still absorbed in such comparatively unimportant affairs. Undoubtedly he was glad of the opportunity of a ride home; but he had got a new glimpse of the truth that merely "riding home" was not the all nor the chief thing in life.

At the conclusion of the address the host, Mr. Sargent, invited all present to join in the conversation, and added that as far as he had gathered Mr. Morse's thought—having been called out several times during his remarks,—he had demanded that the State and society should be more sublimated, should represent a higher development of religion. He hoped all present who had anything to say would feel free to do so. Mr. Frothingham of New York said that if we could have had Mr. Morse's essay we should no doubt obtain a more elaborate and clear statement of his ideas, but the method he had chosen of extempore remarks was a much better introduction to conversation. The address was original, striking and profound, and coming as it did from one of the most Radical representatives of the Free Religious movement, he had listened to it with great interest. The undertaking was bold, and well conducted. The aim had been, as he understood it to set forth the relation between society and religion, to designate the place of religion in democracy. To reconcile principles and affairs, ideas and business, the soul and the world. The address was opened very happily. We are promised peace, but what is peace? That is the question. True peace implies war. It is *pax* a pact, a compact, the state that exists between two parties that have been fighting and have at length made a compact, whereby they agree to desist from further aggression. In heaven there is no peace because there is no war. Peace cannot exist except in society. Now we run one principle of life to its extreme. We consider the *uses* of things. What *profit* can be derived from certain courses of conduct?—from our science and our culture—and all agreeing to this way there exists peace, but religion requires something else; religion always implies division. Jesus came to bring a sword, not peace, and the sword we need now, but we are not allowed to have it. At present everybody is bent on abolishing discord. The peace platform is adopted everywhere. We have made business a religion. People make a religion of dressing, and eating, and housekeeping. We are a one-wheeled concern. Everything is in line. Preaching is business. Prophets wear tweed and soft hats. Religion is an institution like all the others. The women do as the men do, and the men do as the women. There are no distinctions, all are on one platform of peace. We reduce the diamond to charcoal and say, That is all it is. But turning matter into gas don't make spirit of it.

We are told on every hand that salvation comes by work, by feeding paupers and by endless charities, but salvation don't come by work. It comes by faith, by convictions, by transcendent ideas. So, as Mr. Morse says, what is to come? After Grant, what? We don't want this kind of peace, we want war. The trouble is now we can't fight. People won't have it. They insist that we shall buy the drunkard a new suit of clothes, white-wash him, and say Now go try it over, and see if you can't do better. We are not allowed to make war upon villians. We must be introduced to them, must bow to them, call them gentlemen and pass on in peace. We can't kick anybody; all are "brothers." We seem to think that if we give people enough to eat we shall all go to heaven. This we call religion, but it is only by avoiding true religion entirely that we escape war. All modern organizations do is to save the pieces. Othordoxy says, The modern tendency is to resolve us all into one element. So the church gets together a few pieces of the past, a rag of some holy garment, a piece or two of an old temple or cross, and the priests gather about them and keep guard over them. Nowhere does the church organize divine men and women. Catholicism is not religion; it is rehearsal. Protestantism means by religion reconciliation of the individual to the universe; but to have this you have got to have divine ideas, spiritual principles, and you can't get on till you do. And now how to get these spiritual principles is the question. If anyone will tell me where the spiritual principle is to be found he will do me as great a service as one person can do another, I sometimes think I have found it, but I find afterwards that I have not got it.

It is not to be found by railroads or telegraphs, or endless philanthropies. We have solved the material half of the problem in magnificent style; but now how are we to make these facts and materials serve *human* purposes? How are we to make men and women more manly and womanly at the same time that we are rendering them more comfortable? How can we make the earth a real kingdom of heaven and not merely a great Paris?

Mr. Frothingham's remarks were in his wittiest and most humorous, and withal most serious vein, and contained much that was better than we have reported or dare attempt to recall; the best being his ridicule of the popular philanthropies.

Miss Elizabeth Peabody said she would like to hear the word spiritual defined. She would like to learn whether it was right thinking, or came of that, or whether it had to do with taste or activity or love: whether it was intellectual alone or useful action alone; whether the Hindoo whom the essayist quoted as saying fine things of the soul was a spiritual teacher or no.

Mrs. Ednah Cheney spoke of the delight we have all taken in accounts of persons who have been forced to live upon uninhabited islands, and we could realize from this how there was something that makes life dear not drawn from social relations. Such persons, however, said Miss Hannah Stevenson, always made friends with the goats and squirrels and spiders. To which Miss Peabody added, Yes, they get as near to man as possible.

Miss Peabody did not believe that men could prosper as well cut off from all human relations as among them, sharing the labors of society. God doesn't make hermits but races. Her best definition of Spirituality was, Concurrence with God's activities, our actions identical with His. God is infinite force; the force of love—a word, by the way, which had not been mentioned here to-day. That was a word, said Mr. Morse, that should not be spoken too often. I know, said Miss Peabody, it has been abused. Miss P. then described Michael Angelo's painting of "The Birth of Adam," the most affecting thing she had seen in Europe. God was represented as a mature man, with the features of the ancients, and was borne up by angels of immortal youth. Adam's face was turned towards God, at whom he gazed with an expression of tranquil, joyous, loving equality. He did not yet have the consciousness of inferiority. This was his first act, his birth. Looking into the activity of God we become spiritual, but I don't understand that the spiritual life need be isolated.

Mr. Sargent asked if the peace which one who was isolated upon an island seemed to find was not because of the absence of all opportunity to contend with any one.

Mrs. Cheney asked: What is it we live for? Is it to engage in philanthropic enterprises alone? Is that all? She recalled the words of one who had said with what deep significance, "What joy alone with God!"

But why, said Miss Peabody, didn't God remain alone if isolation was better? Why did he create man? She believed man should have just such relations to man as God has to man. No good can come from mere abstractions.

Mrs. Cheney: We must have a right relation between the relative and the absolute, but, as Mr. Morse said, we are forever forgetting the absolute in our absorption in the relative.

Miss Peabody: God is forever appearing in embryo and requires help, care, love. We can see the evil of idleness among the Brahmins. They are dreamers, without philanthropic activities, and what corruption exists as the result! Miss Peabody spoke further at some length saying many excellent things. She gave way that the company might hear from Rev. James Freeman Clarke who was present, though he is not a regular attendant.

Mr. Clarke said he had nothing in particular to say, (this was a *Radical* Club, you know) but before he had done he did say many good things, making us wonder if Methodist Mr. Townsend was not right after all in calling the Dr. a Radical in disguise.

We all, at times, like to get on desert islands, he said; we all ought to at least, though the island be in a parlor. He liked Miss Peabody's definition of spirituality, "Concurrence with divine activity." We must be receivers *and* actors, then we get unity of religion and life. It is not necessary that we go to Walden for the one, or to Ann street for the other. And this is a common mistake. Men go searching through the universe for things that are close at hand. We get heaven when we are receiving and imparting at the same time, but giving alone makes men empty.

Mr. Frothingham: I do not think Mr. Clarke is right in saying that by giving we become empty. By giving we become full. So Jesus taught, and I think he was right. The trouble with us is we are all asking, not what shall we give, but what shall we get. We do not forget self. Religion is self-renunciation, losing one's-self in the Supreme.

Mr. Clarke: But isn't it giving in connection with the fountain that makes one full? The person on the island cannot give, and so he cannot receive as much as he who can impart. One needs to receive and impart to do either well.

I do not believe there is need of war, said Mr. Clarke. There must be antagonism, and antagonism continues in heaven, for heaven is life. But now we are not givers and receivers at the same time. We are one at one time, and the other at another. Like the snipe we go first to one side then back to the other. But mere receiving ends in selfishness. Mere giving ends in shallowness. We want not war but *atonement*. When I was in college I bought Goethe's complete works, and my friend who believed that religion was practical activity thought I had made a strange investment for a poor student of theology. But by and by my friend got to thinking that philanthropy was not all of religion, and so he thought he would read Goethe, but he chose Fichte instead. Years later I asked him if he read Fichte now, and he said, No, but that reading of Fichte did me more good than anything I ever did. So we must not expect to grow while giving, unless at the same time we are receiving.

Mrs. Cheney: That is just it; most of the givers have nothing to give. I do not think, either, that self-renunciation is the whole of religion.

Mr. Frothingham: Self-renunciation is not the whole of knowledge, or of culture, but it is all of religion.

Mr. Clarke, joining the conversation, again said: True religious preaching does not consist in managing the people; it is leading them to see for themselves. Jesus replied to Peter, when he recognized his spirituality: "Flesh and blood have not revealed it." Character teaches.

Mr. Cheney: This is all of preaching and all of art: making others see truth and beauty for themselves.

Mr. Wasson, who came in late, remarked here, referring to what had been said of giving: *Shallow* giving make men shallow, and most philanthropy is of this sort. Men give, not themselves, but their goods, their soup, or primers, and this always leaves them poorer.

Mr. Alfred E. Giles then made some extended remarks upon the nature of spiritual peace, and the company broke up, all apparently well satisfied with having braved the morning's severe snow-storm. The aim of the essay and of the conversation were certainly unusually high, and if the statements were not so complete and definite, the tone of the meeting was particularly refreshing. One day we shall realize that the Radical Club is the true church,—Mr. and Mrs. Sargent's parlors the synagogue of the new dispensation.

* * *

LITERARY.

China and the Chinese. By John L. Nevius. 450 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This book contains a general description of China and its inhabitants; its civilization and form of government; its religious and social institutions; its intercourse with other nations and its present condition and prospects. The author having been ten years a missionary in China, writes from personal observation of the habits, customs and superstitions of the Chinese people. His style is clear and simple and the book can but find many interested readers. Our new relations with China have already served to awaken an interest in this people and it is well that we should understand them better. Mr. Nevius tells us that filial piety stands first in their category of human duties and is an important part of their religion. "Disrespect or disobedience to parents is sometimes punished with death. No stigma which could be attached to the character of a Chinaman is more dreaded the *Puh-hiao*—'undutiful.' Children in their earlier years are required to be respectful, dutiful and retiring; when their parents are advanced in life they are expected to reverence and cherish them, to anticipate all their wants, and strive in every way to please them; and, when parents are dead, to worship and sacrifice to them. Men are exhorted to avoid intemperance and vice, lest they injure or debase the bodies derived from their parents." The Chinese woman holds a very inferior position, and is the servant rather than the companion of her husband. "The claim of one's parents and brothers upon his affections and love is considered to be paramount to his wife." Yet our author thinks that women in China have also their ideas of "Woman's Rights." If so, we may hope for a better state of things. Confucius, whom they reverence and worship, taught, "what you do not want done to yourself, do not to others." It only needs the practical application of this golden rule to right all such wrongs.

The closing chapter of the book is an appeal for missionary effort in China. The appendix contains the speech of the Hon. Anson Burlingame, the head of the Chinese Embassy to the Western Powers, delivered in New York, June 23d, 1868; and the late treaty with China, supplementary to the treaty of 1858. A map and numerous illustrations add to the value of the book.

Littell's Living Age, No. 1294, for the week, ending March 20th, contains Charles Dickens, *Contemporay Review;* Very Latest Robinson Crusoe, *Once a Week;* A Marine Candle, *Once a Week;* The Country House on the Rhine, Part XVII, by Berthold Auerbach, author of "On the Heights," etc., translated for *The Living Age* from *Die Presse;* Vapours, Fears and Tremors, *Blackwood's Magazine;* The Chinese Mission to Christendom, *Blackwood's Magazine;* From an Island, Part I, by Miss Thackeray, *Cornhill Magazine;* Court-Dress Reform, *London Morning Post etc.;* Count Bismark on the State of Europe, *Spectator;* besides short articles and poetry.

To new subscribers, remitting to the publishers for the year 1869, *The Living Age* is sent from the beginning of Auerbach's romance (No. 1277) to January 1st, 1869, *free of charge.* Littell & Gay, Publishers, 30 Bromfield street, Boston.

RECEIVED.

Tribune Essays. Leading articles contributed to the New York Tribune from 1857 to 1863. By Charles T. Congdon, with an introduction by Horace Greeley. 403 pp. New York: J. S. Redfield.

My Recollections of Lord Byron; *and those of Eye-witnesses of his Life.* By Countess Guiccioli. Translated by Hubert E. H. Jerningham, 670 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Phineas Finn, The Irish Member. By Anthony Trollope. 235 pp. New York; Harper & Brothers.

Handy Volume Series. Edelweiss. By Berthold Auerbach. Translated by Ellen Frothingham. 342 pp. Boston: Robert's Brothers.

Harper's Magazine for April. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Putnam's Magazine for April. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

The Galaxy for April. New York: Sheldon & Co.

Lippincott's Magazine for April. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Phrenological Journal for April. New York: S. R. Wells, Editor.

The Printer's Circular. Philadelphia: A. S. Menamin, Editor & Publisher.

Demorest's Monthly for April. New York: 838 Broadway.

The Westminster Review for January. American Edition. New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company.

Memory's Tribute to the Life, Character and work of the Rev. Thomas H. Stockton. By Rev. Alexander Clark. 55 pp. New York: Samuel R. Well, 389 Broadway.

Before The Throne; or, Daily Devotions for a Child. 123 pp. New York: M. W. Dodd, 506 Broadway.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE WISH OF TO-DAY.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

I ASK not now for gold to gild
With mocking shrine a weary frame;
The yearning of the mind is stilled—
I ask not now for Fame.

A rose-cloud, dimly seen above,
Melting in heaven's blue depths away—
O, sweet, fond dream of human Love!
For thee I may not pray.

But, bowed in lowliness of mind,
I make my humble wishes known—
I only ask a will resigned,
O Father, to thine own!

To-day, beneath thy chastening eye
I crave alone for peace and rest,
Submissive in thy hand to lie,
And feel that it is best.

A marvel seems the Universe,
A miracle our Life and Death;
A mystery which I cannot pierce,
Around, above, beneath.

In vain I task my aching brain,
In vain the sages thought I scan
I only feel how weak and vain,
How poor and blind, is man.

And now my spirit sighs for home,
And longs for light whereby to see,
And, like a weary child, would come,
O Father, unto thee!

Though oft, like letters traced on sand,
My weak resolves have passed away,
In mercy lend thy helping hand
Unto my prayer to-day!

MR. GREELEY ON THE WOMAN QUESTION.

THE other evening, we country folks of Chester County, Pa., enjoyed the pleasure of hearing a lecture from the Hon. Horace Greeley, on the not yet worn-out theme of Woman. The discourse was the more interesting from our conviction of the entire candor of the speaker; and yet some among us could not but feel that, if so honest a mind had been encased in a woman's body, that mind would have arrived at clearer views on women's affairs.

Encouraged by the speaker's generous assertion that what he should say was intended rather to provoke further thought than to be considered as final, and believing that to the examination of at least every moral question the eye masculine and the eye feminine are equally essential to secure a true perspective; feeling that to accept the report of either singly would be as if we were satisfied to look through one glass of a stereoscope; I venture to offer, on one or two points of his lecture, the view of an eye feminine, even to so skilled an observer as Mr. Greeley.

After some funny remarks about side-saddle cavalry, etc., the speaker said that, whereas the introduction of machinery had taken from woman her old-time occupation of manufacturing the clothing of the world, some other sphere of labor seemed to be demanded for her. But here he was checked by a very grave consideration; namely, the danger of removing a safe-guard from female virtue. The experiment had been tried in Philadelphia of giving clerkships to young women; but he regretted to learn that the result had been unfortunate—the increase of means acquired by these ladies, had tended by rendering them independent of the approval of men, to make them less careful of their reputations.

If this were so it were a grievous fault. But is he sure of a number of cases sufficient to justify so fatal an inference? And, if so, ought he not to commence at once a crusade against the employment of the thousands of female teachers, who stand to-day in imminent danger of ruin?

Or, is it only unusual occupations which have this tendency? If so, we need only multiply the cases to cure the evil; and meantime I know of many women in that same city, earning handsome livelihoods by clerking, gymnastics, engraving, designing, lithographing, painting, medicine, etc., whom I have always considered much safer than the piano-bangers, of whom Miss Leslie used to say,

"And their dream of life, from morn till night,
Was Beaux, still Beaux."

Believe me, the virtue of a girl who is correct in conduct because she relies for her bread on the favor of your sex is but a flimsy fabric compared with the virtue of her whose wholesome occupation of mind, and inherent self-respect, which is a growth of freedom and not of dependence, forbids her to accept an indignity to the worth of her own nature. Think, sir; try to realize for a moment what a sense of degradation, what a loss of confidence in your own power for rectitude, what a lowering of your whole plane of existence, would ensue, if you were suddenly taught, and forced to act on the lesson, that whatsoever of virtue you cherished in yourself as your highest was henceforth to be cultivated, not to your God and your own soul, but that so you might find favor in the sight of some well-to-do woman and settle your prospects in life. She for God only, he for God in her.

In regard to the question of suffrage, the lecturer thought that, if any large number of women wanted it, they ought to have it; but he strongly advised them not to want it. He had tried the doll, and could really give them his word that it was stuffed with saw-dust. But, after all, how many are there who want it? "How many in this hall?"

For the hall I am unable to answer—but, if he reads the papers (I think it likely he takes a paper), he may have noticed that in France, in Germany, even in Russia, movements are instituted for the social and political elevation of women; that in England the suffrage is largely demanded, and that from our own country, especially North-east and West, petitions are accumulating on that "table" which will soon become too full to allow our brothers to accomplish other business until they are cleared off.

There was one point, however, which had probably escaped our notice, and which, in the speaker's judgment, would prove an insurperable objection to our accepting the ballot. Did it ever occur to us that, in assuming the rights of citizenship, we assumed the liability to its requisitions? How many women present were willing to serve on a jury? How many to submit to the draft, in case of war?

Well, let us take our last war: if all the women had been liable, how many would have been called upon to serve? In all probability, not one; for the simple reason that, while they would not make as good soldiers, they could not, at that time of all in their lives, be spared from home. If it had been their way to retire to castles, and there remain four years to pray and cry, they might as well have been drafted; but what, instead, did they do?

They took care of the children.

What else? They made clothes for the armies.

What else? They raised millions of money, by feminine contrivances, to use for the comfort of the soldiers.

What else? They kept tables forever spread in our cities, that regiments passing through might always find refreshment.

What else? They worked day and night in hospitals, all over the land.

What else? They assumed their husbands tasks in shop and field. I know of a few and have heard of many cases in which, when the men went to fight, the women took up the farm-work—ploughed, sowed, reaped and garnered, went regularly to market; in short did all which, in peaceful times, would have been divided between the women and men? Could any work on the battle-field have compensated for the loss of these in their own place? On the contrary, I suspect that these men who so jealously reserve to themselves the power to vote the nation into a war, to take a woman's husband and sons from her arms, and her bread from her mouth, would have been dismayed indeed if she had declined to take her full share of war's responsibilities.

Yet one can imagine rare cases in which, if fighting be righteous, we ought to take our share. If the invader should come to our thresholds, and threaten our homes and children, then, vote or no vote, I take it that any true woman, not unwomaned by too many years' training in cowardice, would stand to defend her own.

As to serving on a jury, I believe physical disability is always accepted as a reason for declining this office; but, in view of the surprisingly large proportion of the human race (male) which stands confessed, when called upon, as unable to endure a protracted confinement of this nature, I am obliged to infer that women would be even more eligible. However that may be, any woman who can perform her accustomed duties, day after day, and walk the floor with a sick child night after night (her husband must not lose his sleep, he feels so badly in the morning), has probably sufficient endurance to sit on a jury.

But I suppose Mr. Greeley meant further to allude to other disagreeable possibilities incident to the office, and to imply that any refined woman would shrink from encountering them. Of course, and so should any refined man; but he should not, to save his feelings, discard the trial by jury. Neither should women withhold from their sister the right to be tried by her peers. Moreover, it is not the nearness to evil that degrades, but the motive for nearness. Our women, our highest and purest, who make their monthly or weekly visits to the foulest holes in our city, come back the higher and purer for their deeds of mercy. If, however, we *should* be in error on this point, it is time for us to become alarmed for the safety of our husbands. If they be demoralized, what shall become of us? For, note it, sir, it is the merest nonsense to suppose it possible to maintain one moral standard for men, and another for the wives who look in their eyes and breathe their breath. If a man is corrupt, his wife is either corrupt or wretched.

And, again, Mr. G. exclaims: "Now, my dears, that I have made it all so plain to you, what woman is there, save and except Miss Anthony, who would make herself liable to the risks I have pointed out, for the paltry reward of a chance to deposit her vote?"

How many? One cannot conveniently get at the number. I know there have been a good many signers of petitions to that effect in Chester Co. But I can say, for one woman, that to secure for herself so great an enchancement of self-respect, of her status with her children, of her power for good, as lie, to her mind, in that little word, the ballot, she would sit on a jury once a month, if needful—aye, and run her chance for the draft, if she were decided to be so poor a specimen of a woman that she could be put to no better use at home.

Lastly (which was our lecturer's firstly), he remarked that, although there are exceptional instances all through history, of women who had taken their part in whatever happened to be the leading occupation of the time—whether fighting, art, or letters—the instances were proportionately so few that it was easy to see throughout a broad distinction in the spheres of the sexes. This it were hard to deny nor have I ever found a woman who wished to deny it; nor have I found the woman who wished that women should oftener be seen at plough than cradle, or men be ottener seen at cradle than plough. We all understand that man is in general the better ploughman, and woman the better nurse. What we ask is, a field so clear of obstruction that all capacities, whether in man or woman, may settle of their own gravity into their fitting places. Only, let not the man attempt to find the place for the woman. She has a right to try all, and stand where she can.

I know it is a common mode of settling a question to say: thus it ever has been; therefore, thus it ever shall be. So argues Mr. Greeley. The sphere of woman always has been exceedingly limited; therefore, it always will be. Those of us whose minds are so constituted as to believe that our Creator is nearer the beginning than the end of his human experiment will incline to question the certainty of such conclusions.

Now, although there are probably few of us who believe, with Mrs. Farnham, that women, on the whole, are better than men, there is one thing certain: that, inherent in the very differences of sex, of which men only see the disabilities, are actual differing capacities; positive advantages, mental, spiritual, even physical (not muscular*) qualities lacking in man, and doubtless intended to balance our lack of some masculine qualities; capacities long almost latent, soon to be developed, soon to be acknowledged by the world as genuine power.

I say to be, because, although women have existed aforetime, and men have tried in vain to understand and make spheres for them, woman is only about to be discovered; and (meaning no offense in life to our brothers) I think the reason is that the world is only about to become fit for her occupation. Fighting she was not good for; hewing she was not good for. So, while the race male was sowing the dragon's teeth, and mowing the crop away, and sweeping, so to speak, for her reception, she had nothing to do but perpetuate the species and wait. In short, as there were of old distinctive periods in the vegetable and lower forms of animal life, each succeeding period retaining what was best in its predecessor, so we have had later the brute period in our humanity, in which all was fighting; the masculine period, in which the warring of human elements began to subside; and dawns upon us now the feminine period, which, in developing itself, shall more fully develop the masculine, and complete a race of which the universe shall be proud.

A PENNSYLVANIA WOMAN.

* Of the advantages arising from physical difference there is somewhat to be said; but I fear to overstep the newspaper limit.

—*N. Y. Independent.*

A BEAUTIFUL PASSAGE.—Artesian wells are sunk through the sod of the prairies, through the loam, through the gravel, through the hardpan, which is almost granite, until at last, 1,000 or 1,500 feet beneath the surface, the hand of man reveals a deep and rapid river coursing through those solitary sunless depths, at a speed of ten miles an hour, swifter than the Ohio, Mississippi or Hudson, or any of the bountiful and important streams of this country, flowing as they do through picturesque mountain scenery, stately forest, or enamelled meadow, amid towered cities, or cultivated fields. And when the shaft has reached that imprisoned river, and the rent for the first time has been made through its dungeon wall, the waters, remembering the august source on far distant mountain-tops whence ages ago they fell, leap upward to the light with terrible energy, rising in an instant far above the surface of the earth, and pouring forth their healthful fertilizing current to delight and refresh mankind. And with even such an awakening are we gladdened when half-forgotten humanity bursts from time to time out of the depths in which it has pursued its joyless sunless, course, moaning and murmuring through long years, but never quite forgetting its divine and distant origin. Such was the upward movement out of the intellectual thraldom which we call the Reformation, when the shaft of Luther struck the captive stream; such an awakening, but a more significant and hopeful one, has been heralded over this whole Republic, East and West, North and South, and for all humanity, by the triumph of the right in the recent four years conflict, in which all have been conquerers.

—*J. L. Motley's Address before the N. Y. Historical Society.*

VENTILATION.—Solomon recommended the sluggard to look at the ants, and learn wisdom. So we may recommend certain other people to look at the wasps. We see it stated that "an English gentleman lately took a small wasp's nest, about the size of an apple, and after stupefying its inmates, placed it in a large case inside of his house, leaving an opening for egress through the wall. Here the nest was enlarged to a foot in diameter, holding thousands of wasps. Here he was able to watch their movements, and noted one fact—namely, their systematic attention to ventilation. In hot weather from four to six wasps were continually stationed at the hole of egress; and, while leaving space for entrance or exit, created a steady current of fresh air by the exceedingly rapid motion of their wings. After a long course of this vigorous exercise, the ventilators are relieved by other wasps. During cool weather two wasps at a time were usually thus engaged."

Should not men have as much sense as the wasps? But have they?

WAITING.

LEARN to wait—life's hardest lesson,
Conned, perchance, through blinding tears;
While the heart-throbs sadly echo
To the tread of passing years.

Learn to wait—hope's slow fruition;
Faint not, though the way seem long;
There is joy in each condition,
Hearts, through suffering, may grow strong.

Constant sunshine, howe'er welcome,
Ne'er would ripen fruit or flower;
Giant oaks owe half their greatness
To the scathing tempest's power.

Thus a soul, untouched by sorrow,
Aims not at a higher state;
Joy seeks not a brighter morrow,
Only sad hearts learn to wait.

Human strength and human greatness,
Spring not from life's sunny side,
Heroes must be more than drift-wood:
Floating on a waveless tide.

WOMEN AS DESIGNERS.—The great increase in the number of illustrated books and papers, at the present time, is opening a new field for the skill and industry of women. Several of the English magazines owe their choicest illustrations to the genius and culture of young women who have learned to draw on wood. Many of the designs in *London Society* and *Belgravia* are furnished from this source, and some of the most amusing sporting pictures in *Punch* are from the pencil of a young lady who can draw and rule with equal daring and freedom. Many of the finest illustrations in the *Riverside Magazine* are from the pencil of Miss Lucy Gibbons, whose drawings evince knowledge, culture, delicate fancy, refined sentiment, and great fertility of invention. Miss Mary L. Stone also draws for the *Riverside*, and is now engaged on a series of illustrations for a book to be published this fall. The illustration entitled "Thridding my Fingers through my Hair" in the *Galaxy*, for August, was from the pencil of Miss Mary Hallock, a young artist whose compositions contain promise of no ordinary kind. Miss C. W. Conant is also giving attention to drawing on wood, and some of her compositions show great taste and culture. In the kindred art of wood engraving, women have also evinced a decided capacity. Miss S. E. Fuller has contributed many admirable specimens of fruit and flower-pieces to the *Horticulturist*, and her work is very highly prized. A number of the pupils of the Cooper Art School have been very successful, both artistically and pecuniarily, in this specialty.—*Home Journal.*

MILLIONS of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep.
All these with ceaseless praise his works behold,
Both day and night. How often from the steep
Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
Celestial voices to the midnight air,
Sole, or responsive each to other's note,
Singing their great Creator! Oft in bands,
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
With heavenly touch of instrumental sounds,
In full harmonic number join'd, their songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.

—*Paradise Lost.*

FRESH AIR FOR THE CONSUMPTIVE.

BY DR. HENRY I. BOWDITCH.

BUILD your houses in the country, in preference to any place near the sea-coast. In the country choose a slope rather than a plain to build upon, and where the sun can have full access to it, if possible, all the day. Be sure (if need be, by effectual sub-drainage) that the soil is thoroughly permeable to water. Let no moisture from the soil, from any source be permitted to distil its pernicious influences upon the future dwelling or its inmates. Let the rooms be large, of substantial breadth rather than height, and so pierced by windows that the air may have a bounteous and free entrance and exit. Let fireplaces be built in every room and chamber—fireplaces made for real use, not kept for show, and not closed with iron plates which are to be pierced for air tight stoves Eschew all furnace heat except for warming the entries and corridors.

Outside the house let there be ample space for air and sunlight. One or two trees may be permitted to grow near the house, but not to overshadow it, for nothing but evil comes from too much shade, either of trees or climbing vines. Both of these may very materially prevent the warm rays of the sun from reaching and bathing the exterior, or from penetrating the interior of the house, which they should be allowed to do freely, even in the depths of summer. Nothing so deadens the atmosphere as the too constant closure of the windows, blinds, and curtains, whereby light and heat as well as fresh air are excluded. Every morning let the windows be opened widely, so as to drive off the remains of foul air that has necessarily accumulated from the sleepers during the previous night. Every night let a part of the windows be left open, and if possible at the top and bottom, so that during sleep there may be still a plenty of fresh unbreathed air for the children and adults to use. Of course the amount of space thus opened will vary with the season; but often, even during our Northern winters, especially in a furnace-heated house, a small aperture, at least, may thus be left. Two or three extra blankets only will be needed for any coldness thus caused.

As to the value of fresh air, alike for the healthy and the invalid, there seems to exist great doubt in this community. Even the healthy have no real faith in its efficacy as a means of giving health. Invalids, almost without exception, we have to educate to that faith. They have so many doubts about the weather. It is too cold, too hot, too windy, or too blustering. It is cloudy, or an east wind prevails. These and a hundred other trivial deviations from perfect weather are noted, and the unfortunate invalid quietly stays within doors day after day to avoid them. Nothing is more pernicious, no behavior more unwise. Both invalids and healthy persons ought to eschew all such views as arrant folly. "Whenever *in doubt*," we say to our patients, "about going out, *always go out.* If a violent storm is raging, to which no one would willingly expose himself, then keep to the house, but the moment it ceases, seize the occasion for exercise out of doors." "It would be better," said the late John Ware, "for everybody, sick and well, to face every storm, than to be fearful, as we now usually are, of even a trace of foul weather."

—*Atlantic Monthly for March.*

UNDER THE SNOW.

BY MARY N. PRESCOTT.

DEAR little violet, under the snow,
Whatever you dream there, I fain would know;
Do you hear the rustle of coming spring?
Do you feel the sunshine shed from her wing?

Does the swallow's first note thrill you through and through,
Till you wake from the dream and wish it were true?
Do you and the crocus whisper together,
Of the day of the month and the pleasant weather?

Of the summer that was, of the summers to be,
Of the robin's long pause, and the gnat's mystery?
Oh, I long for the sunbeams to pierce and dissolve
All these drifts of snow—your being above,

For the warm rains to woo you into the light,
For the south wind to sue you with all its might;
For then will you waken out from your trance,
And bring the forsaken remembrance.

—*Merry's Museum for February.*

INDUSTRIAL WOMEN IN GERMANY.—The Industrial Fair of the "Women's Union" of Germany is now open in Berlin. Contributions had been forwarded from all parts of Germany, from Switzerland and France. In addition to all varieties of purely feminine labor, such as embroidery, sewing and knitting work, millinery and artificial flowers, art is represented by paintings in oil and water-colors, on wood and glass, and modelling in plaster and other substances. There are also boots, shoes, umbrellas, epaulettes, artificial teeth, steel-pens, and anatomical preparations made by women. This first exhibition of woman's industry in Germany is an illustration of the capacity of the sex to succeed in many branches of labor which are not yet opened to it; and the main object of the Union is to enlarge the field of industry, and thereby improve the condition of woman. The Crown-princess of Prussia is one of the patrons of the movement.—*Putnam's Magazine.*

GENIUS appears in many different guises. To some she comes harp in hand as *St. Cecilia*, and in her presence all thought and feeling express themselves in harmonious sound; to others she bears the pencil and chisel and guides their hands to the production of beautiful forms; to others she brings the pen, and clothes them with power to speak of divine things, divinely; to others still she comes without harp, or pencil or pen, and breathes into their spirits the power to make others love them. In this last guise she comes very quietly, and the world knows nothing of her coming, but it is one of her most beneficent forms. It is good to be lifted up by inspired music, by beautiful pictures and sculpture, by great thoughts; it is best of all to love. Whether we love parent or child or friend or lover, how our hearts grow larger with each thrill of love, how our vision extends so that we see where before we were blind. Blessed are they who come into our presence, and by their purity of soul, by their graces of spirit, by their delicate sympathies, by their high resolves, their faithful fulfillments, draw all hearts unto them. They may be very plain, and without great intellectual attainments, but they become shining lights to all they meet. They show us the way of life.

E. M. P.

THE MEMORY OF THE DEAD.—It is an exquisite and beautiful thing in our nature, that when our heart is touched and softened by some tranquil happiness, the memory of the dead comes over it most powerfully and irresistably. It would almost seem as though our better thoughts and sympathies were charms in virtue of which the soul is enabled to hold some vague and mysterious intercourse with the spirits of those whom we dearly loved in life. Alas! how often and how long may those patient angels hover above us, watching for the spell which is so seldom uttered and soon forgotten.

REBUKE.

THE world is old and the world is cold,
And never a day is fair, I said.
Out of the heavens the sunlight rolled,
The green leaves rustled above my head,
And the sea was a sea of gold.

The world is cruel, I said again,
Her voice is harsh to my shrinking ear,
And the nights are dreary and full of pain.
Out of the darkness sweet and clear,
There rippled a tender strain;

Rippled the song of a bird asleep,
That sang in a dream of the budding wood;
Of shining fields where the reapers reap,
Of a wee brown mate and a nestling brood,
And the grass where the berries peep.

The world is false, though the world be fair,
And never a heart is pure, I said.
And lo! the clinging of white arms bare,
The innocent gold of my baby's head,
And the lisp of a childish prayer.

—*Overland Monthly.*

WHEN the clouds drop down low, and it is rainy and chilly and misty, there is nothing in them but discomfort; but when, the sun having risen, they get off a little distance, everybody claps his hands, and calls out, and says, "Oh! behold the rainbow!" What is the rainbow? Nothing but that cloud which, when it is passing you, weaves a garment that is disagreeable and hateful to you, but which, when it is removed a little distance from you, with the sun shining on it, is clothed with glory and beauty. Dull duties a little way off may become God's rainbows to men. The whole world, with all its floods of influence, passes by us. We are pained. We murmur and fret till that which pains us passes away. Then, looking back, we find that those very hours which we used for fault-finding were, after all, the most precious of hours.—*H. W. Beecher.*

Let our repentance be a lively will, a firm resolution. Complaints and mourning over past errors avail nothing.

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The January number contained articles from Frances Dana Gage, Lucy Stone, Frederick Douglass, Miss Kate Field, W. J. Linton, Henry B. Blackwell, Aaron M. Powell, George S. Burleigh, Rev. J. W. Chadwick and other well-known writers. For the current year, arrangements of such a character are in progress, as warrant the assurance that each number will exhibit an improvement in quality and literary excellence.

The February number contained articles from CAROLINE H. DALL, HENRY B. BLACKWELL, LUCY STONE, RICHARD J. HINTON, SAMUEL C. BLACKWELL and others.

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REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSIONER, T. W. EVANS, M. D., MEMBER OF THE JURY OF THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION, TO THE UNITED STATES. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF STATE. To wit:

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TESTIMONIAL OF THE

CONFERENCE

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL SANITARY COMMISSION

AT THE EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE, PARIS, 1867.

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PARIS, September 8th, 1868.

COUNT SERRIER, Commissioner General of the International Exposition, President of the Conference.

COUNT G. de CHABOLY, T. GAUVIY, General Secretaries.

To Monsieur Hudson."

E. D. HUDSON, M D., 696 BROADWAY, N. Y.

Specialty of Mechanical Surgery, and Artificial Legs and Arms.
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VOL. XXIX. PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

AARON M. POWELL, EDITOR.

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MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, in a letter accompanying remittance for THE STANDARD, writes as follows:

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EDITED BY S. H. MORSE & J. B. MARVIN

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